Chapter I

MOSLEMS IN THE INDUS VALLEY

Arrival of Arabs. Since its first appearance on the world stage, Islam has had close relations with the Indian sub-continent.

The earliest contact of the Islamized Arabs with the Malabar coast dates back to the reign of 'Umar ibn-al-Khattab, the second Caliph (634-644). Sarqafi, who governed Oman under the second Caliph, sent an expedition to Thana and Barouch on his own initiative without seeking permission from the Caliph. The latter disliked overseas expeditions and forbade further action. 'Uthman ibn-'Affan, the third Caliph (664-656), taking a different view of the matter, sent an expedition to gather information about the land and people of India. Since this expedition was not a success, plans for further penetration into India were dropped. The fourth Caliph, Ali ibn-abi-Talib, (656-661), appointed an Arab officer, Muhallab, to pursue the mission,[1] but India remained unconquered until the Umayyads consolidated their power in the Fertile Cresent area that constitutes the heart of the Middle East.

Islam has passed through three distinct stages: "originally a religion, Islam later became a state, and finally a culture."[2] It was the Islamic state that conquered Sindh. This conquest in the first decade of the eighth century seems at first glance to have been in the nature of an accident for which Moslem historians hold the rulers of Sindh responsible.[3] However, the maritime interests of the Arabs on the coast of India, even before Islam, were considerable. Under the protection of a strong and centralized state of *banu Umayyah* their commercial activities expanded. It would not be farfetched to believe that the early Umayyad Caliphs seriously considered the annexation of the frontier provinces of India to safeguard Arab economic interests. Perhaps the wealth of India tempted them to conquer the northwestern coastline of the Indian sub-continent; maybe they were lured by the horses of good quality that were in abundant supply in Baluchistan.

Caliph Mu'awiyah ibn-abi-Sufyan's (661-680) governor of Iraq, Ziyad ibn-abu-Sufyan, sent Sinan ibn-Salama ibn al-Muhabbik to head an expedition to establish an outpost in Baluchistan. After subduing Makran and its cities, Sinan stayed there and established his power.[4]

Meanwhile, the Indians began to intercept the commercial vessels of the Arabs in the Indian Ocean. During the reign of Caliph al-Malik ibn-abd-al-Malik, "the King of the Island of Rubies" (Ceylon), sent to the famous governor of Iraq, al-Hajjaj ibn-Yusuf al-Thaqafi, some Moslem women who had been born in his country. Most of them were the orphan daughters of merchants who had died. The king sought by this action to ingratiate himself with al-Hajjaj. However, the ship in which the women sailed was attacked by pirates. One of the captured women, a member of the tribe of the banu-Yarbu, cried out, "O Hajjaj!" When al-Hajjaj heard of this he exclaimed "Here am I." He dispatched his personal envoy to Raja Dahir, the ruler of Sindh, asking him to set the women free. Raja Dahir bluntly replied that he had no control over the pirates.[5]

Al-Hajjaj sent several punitive expeditions against the Raja; all of them failed. He then commissioned his son-in-law Muhammad ibn-al-Qasim, who was at that time in Fars (Iran), to lead a campaign against Raja Dahir in Sindh. Al-Hajjaj reinforced him with 6,000 men from Syria and other places.

From Fars, al-Qasim went to Makran, which had already been incorporated into the Ummayad Caliphate. After conquering the adjoining territories he marched towards ad-Daibul. The boundaries of the Kingdom of Sindh extended on the east to Kashmir, on the west to Makran, on the south to the shores of the ocean and to ad-Daibul, and on the north to the mountains of Kardan and Kaikanan. Al-Qasim encamped on the bank of the river Mehran (Indus) for a few days before challenging Raja Dahir to a decisive battle.[6]

The battle is said to have continued until Raja Dahir was slain on the sixth day (June, 712). Rani Bai, his wife and Jaisiya, his son, then took refuge in the fort of Rawar (or Roar) with his army, relatives, and nobles. On the advice of Sisakar, a minister, Jaisiya fled to Brahmanabad with all his dependents and servants. Rani Bai, with some of the generals and an army of 15,000 warriors readied themselves for battle. Al-Qasim pursued them to Rawar and ordered his miners to dig and undermine the walls of the fort until the bastions were thrown down. Rani Bai assembled all her women and said: "Jaisiya is separated from us and Muhammad ibn-al-Qasim has come. God forbid that we should owe our liberty to out-caste cow-eaters! Our honor would be lost, and our term of life has come to its close. As there is no hope of safety and liberty, let us collect cotton and oil. The most expedient course for us, I think, is to burn ourselves to ashes and thus quickly meet our husbands."[7] Thus ended the life of the last Rani of Sindh.

Al-Qasim remained in the captured fort for two or three days putting six thousand Indian soldiers to the sword and taking their dependents prisoners. He then sent letters to the chiefs of the different parts of India, demanding that they make obeisance to him and embrace Islam. When Sisakar, the minister of Jaisiya, heard this he sent his emissaries to sue for protection. He brought to al-Qasim all the Moslem women who were in his custody, saying that they were the ones who had cried out to al-Hajjaj for help.[8] Al-Qasim showed Sisakar much respect, treated him with kindness, and conferred upon him the office of minister. Al-Qasim then conquered Dhalila and proceeded towards Jalwali, to the east of Brahamabad. Jaisiya sought the help of the princes of India, but al-Qasim isolated and subjugated them one after another. Jaisiya himself was finally defeated and slain. Subsequently al-Qasim turned to the administrative problems of Sindh because he did not expect any further military challenge to his authority. For our purpose his campaigns cease to be of interest. Our main concern is with the new constitutional provisions introduced into the conquered territory, which crystallized the relationship between Moslems and non-Moslems.

Muhammad ibn-al-Qasim's Constitution. Al-Qasim based his policy on the theory that the conquered land, though it became *Dar-ul-Islam*,[9] could be governed with the assistance of the native upper classes. He accepted the division of all people into various classes, (i.e., merchants, artists, agriculturalists and traders) and ordered a capitation tax of twelve *dirhams* weight of silver to be collected from each man. He appointed the leading citizens to collect the tax. The Brahmans, who formed the priestly caste among the Hindus, pleaded for a continuation of their superior status within the Hindu community, and the nobles supported their claim. Realizing that without their collaboration the administration of the country would be almost impossible, al-Qasim issued orders confirming their pre-eminence and entrusted each of the Brahmans with a state office. Moreover, he made these hereditary. The country was divided into prefectures which were administered by Hindu prefects under Moslem governors. To each prefect al-Qasim allotted an amount of revenue varying with his ability and a seat in the great public assemblies.[10]

The laws of *Shari'a* (Islamic law), were declared the supreme law of the conquered territory. Their interpretation and enforcement, however, was not vested with the governors. With a view to enforcing the laws of Islam, which now superseded all other laws of the land, the

ecclesiastical office of *Sadru-l Imam al Ajall* was created. To this position, al-Qasim appointed Musa bin Tai bin Muhammad bin Shaiban bin 'Uthman Sakifi.[11]

The privilege of citizenship was denied to all non-Moslems. According to the laws of Islam a poll-tax (*jizya*) was assessed upon all non-citizens, who were divided into three grades. Within the first grade of "great men" (i.e. propertied classes), each was to pay silver equal to 48 *dirhams* in weight; the second grade was to pay 24 *dirhams* and the lowest 12. The Hindus who remained faithful to their old persuasion were obligated to pay the tribute and poll-tax, but their land and properties were not confiscated.[12] Those who embraced Islam were exempted from "slavery, the tribute, and the poll-tax."

Another cardinal principle enunciated by al-Qasim was the extension of the rights of *dhimmis* (protected class) to the Hindus. For fear of the Moslem army, the Hindus had stopped giving traditional "alms and bread" to the Brahmans. Also in financial distress, the attendants for the temples petitioned al-Qasim: "We have agreed to pay the poll-tax in the expectation that everyone would be left to follow his own persuasion. Our temples are ruined and we cannot worship our idols. If our Just Lord will permit us, we will repair our temples and worship our gods. Our Brahmans will then receive the means of living from us."[13]

Al-Qasim referred the matter to al-Hajjaj, who decreed that "the chief inhabitants of Brahmanabad had petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of *budh* [idol] and pursue their own religion. As they have made submission, and have agreed to pay taxes to the *Khalifa*, nothing more can be properly required from them. They have been taken under our protection, and we must not in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They must live in their houses in whatever manner they like."[14]

In granting the request of the Hindus, al-Qasim permitted them to "retain their position like the Jews, the Christians, and fire worshippers of al-Iraq and Syria."[15]

Although the Arab conquerors followed a fairly uniform administrative policy throughout their territories, in Sindh, there was a new departure in the treatment of the subject races. Originally the status of *dhimmi* had been reserved for the *ahl al-Dhimmah*,[16] or people of the covenant or obligation, which included only *ahl al-Kitab*,[17] people of the Book, i.e., Jews and Christians. By granting the status of *ahl-al-*

Dhimmah to the Hindus, the Umayyad state once again adapted the doctrine for secular purposes.[18]

This conciliatory policy was not only desirable but necessary. The Hindus accepted Moslem rule on the guarantee that the state would not interfere with the practice of their religion. As the *ahl al-dhimmah*, the Hindus' life and property were also protected. For the exercise of these privileges, the Hindus consented to pay the *jizya* to the Islamic state of Sindh.

The Hindus' petition to al-Qasim and the decree of al-Hajjaj outlining the rights of the Hindus makes it clear that an agreement was reached between the non-Moslem subjects and the Islamic state. By virtue of their status as *dhimmis*, the Hindus, like other *dhimmis* in the Caliphate, must have enjoyed certain fringe benefits accruing to them from Islamic law. Historians of the Arab conquest do not mention them, but since the application of the law of the Caliphate was fairly universal, there is no reason to assume that these benefits were denied to the Hindus.

These benefits included an exemption from the surplus property tax (*zakah*), which all Moslems, male or female, young or old, paid at the rate of two and a half per cent. The Hindus were not subject to compulsory military service. However, if as *dhimmis* they rendered military service to the Islamic state, their *jizya* was remitted, and they were given full pay and allowances for their services.[19] They also enjoyed juridical autonomy within their own community, their cases being adjudicated by their co-religionists in accordance with Hindu laws.

Although the Hindus formed a self-contained separate community within *Dar-ul-Islam*, their status was not that of full citizens. According to Islamic jurisprudence a Moslem is the "natural person" who enjoys full citizenship rights; all others enjoy varying degrees of rights, depending upon the type of relationship they have established with the Moslem state.[20] *Jizya* was an indication of lower status, which the Moslem authorities imposed on the Hindus, as on other *dhimmis*, as a penalty for their persistence in disbelief.

Incorporation into the broader family of the Caliphate made Sindh *Dar-ul-Islam*. This was indeed a novelty in Indian history. Foreign races had invaded India before the Arabs, but the conquerors ceased to have any outside loyalties. This time the story was altogether different. Moslems in Sindh were citizens of the larger Caliphal state. Hindus enjoyed only the rights of the "protected class;" they were noncitizens, but had to be loyal to the caliphate. Such in brief were the consequences of Sindh's becoming *Dar-ul-Islam*.

Social Stratification. Three groups emerged in Sindh: Moslem-Arabs[21] who were the rulers; neo-Moslems who accepted Islam and acquired the rights of full citizens, and *dhimmis*, i.e. Hindus, who accepted "jizya on their necks"[22] and remained at the bottom of the social pyramid. The pattern of relationship between the Arabs and the neo-Moslems emerged during the brief tenure of al-Qasim. This shows in the changed behavior of the neo-Moslems towards their former co-religionists. When al-Qasim was encamped on the Indus waiting for the encounter with Raja Dahir he sent an embassy to him. This fact in itself is not of any historical importance, but the manner in which the ambassador and his aide conducted themselves at the Court of Raja Dahir merits careful narration and analysis.

The embassy consisted of a Syrian nobleman and an interpreter, a native of Sindh who had been taken prisoner and became a Moslem. Al-Qasim instructed his ambassador to deliver his message at a meeting of respectable men and nobles of the Court, and to demand a decisive reply. Accordingly, when the Syrian and his interpreter went into the Court of Raja Dahir, they did not bow their heads or pay any traditional respects to him.

An interesting conversation took place between Raja Dahir and the interpreter whose name was Mawlana Islami. Raja Dahir: "Is it that you are under some pressure and have been prevented from paying respects to your Raja?" Mawlana: "Formerly I professed your religion and so it was obligatory on me to make the obeisance due from a servant to his master. But now I have been honored with the glory of Islam and I am attached to the King of Islam. Therefore it is unbecoming of me to bend my head before a *Kafir* [infidel]." Upon hearing Mawlana's bold statement Raja Dahir declared: "If you had not been an envoy, I would have punished you by ordering you to be killed." To which Mawlana answered:

"If you are determined to kill me, I have nothing to say in my defense. There are some retaliators, who will avenge my death. They will return you like for like."[23]

Mawlana Islami's stand is symbolic of the change that had taken place in the socio-political structure of Sindh. Those who embraced Islam not only adopted a new religious belief, but also transferred their social affiliation and political allegiance.

There were powerful material forces operating which impelled the Arabs and neo-Moslems to form a solid "in-group."[24] The limited number of conquerors in the vast sea of hostile Indian population would have felt insecure but for their new allies the neo-Moslems

welded to them in connubium and in faith. The neo-Moslems on their side were undoubtedly influenced by considerations of prestige and material gain in embracing Islam. Arab missionary activities also played an important role in the large scale conversion of Hindus.[25] The Arabs became the source of values, attitudes, convictions, and orientation for the neo-Moslems. The neo-Moslems internalized the norms of the Arab-Moslems, and the two groups became part of the greater Moslem community. The neo-Moslems not only started to perform the rituals of Islam, but adopted Arab individual and clan names. To this day there exists a sizeable number of Moslem families in Sindh, who bear unmistakable Arab names, i.e. Tammimi, Mughairah, and Faruki, who claim to be the descendents of those who came with Muhammad ibn-al-Qasim in 711.

With the passage of time the differentiation between the "Arab-Moslems" and the "neo-Moslems" disappeared. There emerged a group of Moslems in Sindh who were culturally steeped in Islam and considered themselves a part of the larger brotherhood of Moslems. Politically they would accept no authority unless it was legitimized by the head of the Islamic state, the Caliph.

Muhammad ibn-al-Qasim Recalled: Post Qasim Developments.

After setting up the super-structure of the administration in Sindh al-Qasim conquered Multan and thus brought at least half of what is now West Pakistan under Moslem rule. He sent Abu-Hakim Shaibani at the head of ten thousand horses toward Kanauj and the adjoining principalities with the mission of inviting the chieftains of India to embrace Islam. Actually al-Qasim was preparing to strike at the heart of India when he was recalled by the Caliph.[26] However, all the governors appointed by him and the Arab army remained in Sindh.

From Caliph Sulaiman (d. 717) to the last Umayyad Caliph, Marwan bin Muhammad bin Marwan (744-750) the territory of Sindh continued to be governed by *walis,* (governors or representatives of the Caliph) on whose efficiency the effectiveness of Moslem rule depended. Junaid ibn-'Abdur Rahman, for instance, who came to Sindh as governor during the reign of the Caliph Hasham ibn-abul Malik (724-743), extended Moslem influence to the territories of Marmad, Mandal, Dalmaj, Baruz, Uzain, Maliba, Baharimad, al-Bailman and Jurz.

Junaid was succeeded in 726 by Tamim bin Zaid al-'Utabi, who was feeble and incompetent but generous. He is said to have squandered no less than eighteen million Tatariya *dirhams* which he found in the

public treasury of Sindh. Under his government Moslems evacuated some provinces and "up to this period [800]" says al-Baladhuri, "they have not recovered them all and their settlements are not so far advanced as they had been previously."[27]

After Tamim the government was entrusted to Hakim al-Kalabi. At this time the political control of the Moslems was less firm and their life and property were relatively unsafe. Hakim built a city on the "eastern borders of a lake, which he named *Mahfuthah*, "the guarded." He made this a place of refuge for Moslems and established it as his capital.

Hakim entrusted Amru bin Muhammad ibn al-Qasim (probably a son of the conquer of Sindh)[28] with an expedition beyond *al-Mahfuthah*. Amru returned victorious and eventually became governor. He founded another city which he called *Mansura*, "the victorious" and "which is now," adds al-Baladhuri, "the capital where the governor resides."[29]

In the middle of the eighth century the anti-Umayyad movement led by the Abbasids gained momentum in the Middle East. It was fanned by non-Arabian Moslems, who had not been granted the expected economic and social equality with Arabian Moslems. They were generally reduced to the position of *mawalis* (clients)[30] under the Umayyad rule and were not always exempt from the *jizya*.[31]

In October 749 Caliph Abu-al-'Abbas, a great-grand-grandson of al-Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, founded the 'Abbasid dynasty. He embarked upon a policy of exterminating the Umayyad house, ostensibly to take revenge against the killers of the descendents of the Prophet. Soon Sindh felt the tremors of dynastic changes. When 'Abdur Rahman, an 'Abbasid governor, reached the frontiers of Sindh and encountered the Umayyad governor Mansur bin Jamhur, Rahman's army was put to flight and he himself was slain.

The 'Abbasids did not gain actual control of Sindh until Caliph al-Mansur (754-775) succeeded abu-l 'Abbas. The next Caliph sent Hasham bin Amru-al-Taghlabi to subdue the rest of Sindh. Hasham not only conquered Sindh, but annexed Kashmir, Multan, and Kandahar,[32] enforcing the Caliphal authority vigorously throughout the whole country.

However, during the nine reigns between al-Mu'tasim and al-Muktadar (833-932) the power of the Caliphs declined again. The Karmatian heretics became a growing menace after founding (899) an independent state on the western shore of the Persian Gulf with al-Ahsha as their capital.[33] Between the tenth and eleventh centuries the

followers of Qarmat and al-Jannabi, (the founder and the leader of the Karmatian sect respectively), kept Syria and Iraq drenched in blood.[34] Even the most distant provinces felt the tremors which shook the heart of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. In 879 Caliph Mu'tamad conferred upon Ya'kub ibn Lais the government of Sindh, Sijastan and Kirman. The virtual renunciation of political control by the Caliphate in Sindh dates from that year. A few years after the death of Ya'kub ibn Lais, Sindh was divided into two Moslem kingdoms, Multan (in the Punjab) and Mansura, both of which attained a high degree of power and prosperity.

A third Moslem state, the Kingdom of Makran, existed in the shadow of these two big states. Originally a dependency of the Buwaihids, it comprised the strip of sea coast from the gulf of Oman to Sindh and a part of Kirman and Baluchistan. The capital of Makran was Fannazbur, near the modern town of Turbat in West Pakistan.[35]

In the tenth century the Karmatians gained ascendancy in the states of Mansura and Multan. Since they did not show allegiance to the Caliph at Baghdad, the latter asked Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, his powerful vassal, to curb their power in Sindh. From that time on we hear no more of Arabs as conquerors in India; this role devolves upon the Turks.

Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi: *"The Idol-Breaker"*. The later Abbasid Caliphs had hired Turkish mercenaries to protect them from the Persians and the Arabs. By this policy, they actually introduced the wooden horse into Moslem Troy; gradually the Turkish guards became their masters. Among the Turks who rose to power the Samanids are most notable.

The Samanids first came into prominence at the time of Caliph al-Ma'mun (813-833), when four sons of Asad b. Saman were given possession of important areas in central Asia.[36] Eventually the Samanid dominions extended from the Jaxartes to Baghdad, and from Khawarizm and the Caspian Sea to the borders of India. In 999 the Samanid dynasty was brought to an end by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

Alptigin, the founder of the Kingdom of Ghazni, was born in 880. He was sold as a slave to Ahmad b. Isma'il, the Samanid, who enrolled him in his bodyguard. In December, 956, he was entrusted with the government of the province of Balkh and subsequently became commander of the troops of Khurasan. In April, 962, Alaptigin revolted against Samanid rule and established himself as the King of Ghazni. He conquered Bust and a part of the Kingdom of Kabul, but he did not live

to enjoy his sovereignty. He died on September 13, 963 and was succeeded by his son Abu Ishaq Ibrahim (d. November 12, 966), who in turn was succeeded by his two slaves, Bilkatigin (d. 974), and Pritigin (d. April 20, 977). In 977 Abu Mansur Subuktigin ascended the throne of Ghazni.

Subuktigin consolidated his dominions and then turned his attention to India. At that time the whole territory from Lamaghan to the river Chanab was ruled by Raja Jaipal of the Hindushahyya dynasty. In 986, in retaliation for Subuktigin's incursions, Raja Jaipal advanced with a large force to attack Ghazni. The clash of the two armies near a hill called Ghuzak ended with the total rout of the Hindu prince. Jaipal promised to pay indemnity of one million *dirhams* and fifty elephants, and to cede several forts and towns on the frontier, but once back in safety he repudiated his promise and imprisoned Subuktigin's officers who had been sent to take over the ceded forts.[37]

In a rage Subuktigin invaded the Raja's territory, capturing many towns in Lamaghan. Jaipal thereupon organized a league of Hindu princes and marched on Ghazni at the head of a great host of one million men. Subuktigin defeated him, annexed the district between Lamaghan and Peshawar, and "introduced Islam among the people."[38] Throughout his reign Subuktigin acknowledged the overlordship of the Samanids; he died on the frontier of Balkh in August, 997. Two years later his successor Sultan Mahmud and Ilak Khan conquered Khurasan and Bukhara, thus putting an end to Samanid sovereignty.

Mahmud was one of the most powerful sovereigns of his day in central Asia. However his subjects did not consider him a *de jure* sovereign without the diploma of investiture or a title of honor from the Caliph of Baghdad who, as successor of the Prophet, was held by the orthodox Sunni Moslems to be the source of all authority and the fountain of all honor. Actually, an independent prince like Mahmud remained sovereign within his dominions even with the diploma of investiture and in fact owed no obligation of obedience to the Caliph.[39]

In 999 Caliph Qādir billah (991-1031) bestowed upon Mahmud the high-sounding title of *Yamīn ud-dawlah Amīn ul-Millāh*, (right hand of the state, and protector of the believers) and also sent a ceremonial robe, thus condoning Mahmud's revolt against the Samanid dynasty. Mahmud publicly celebrated the occasion by wearing the new *Khil'at* (robe) and declaring his allegiance to the successor of the Prophet of God. 'Utbi, who was the Sultan's secretary, says that Mahmud then bestowed upon the nobles, slaves, and confidential friends, valuable

robes and choice presents, and that he promised to lead an expedition to India every year.[40]

Between the years 1000 and 1026 Sultan Mahmud conducted seventeen campaigns in India,[41] ranging across the plains from the Indus to the Ganges. A great deal has been written about the motivation behind Mahmud's campaigns in India. Hindu writers, particularly modern ones, have described him as a "barbarian" who "indulged in wanton crimes against humanity and civilization."[42] Moslem writers, ancient and modern, present Sultan Mahmud as the "champion of Islam," the "victor" and "idol-breaker" of Ghazni.[43] Both schools show partisan bias and fail to assess his policies with sober judgment. Mahmud was a staunch Moslem; if his campaigns against "idol-worshipping infidels" brought him a rich store of treasure and captives, it was in his eyes no more than the fit reward of piety. In the intervals between his forays into heathendom, he would sit down and copy the Qur'an for the sanctity of his soul."[44]

Mahmud continued the policy of his father, Subuktigin who had constructed roads to the Indian frontier for political and commercial reasons. These roads weakened the frontier and at the same time provided safe commercial routes between India and Ghazni. Mahmud marched into India on these roads.[45]

Mahmud's relations with the Caliph of Baghdad were always cordial. He believed in the religious unity of the Caliphal state and severely punished all dissenters. He disliked the Karmatian rulers of Multan and Mansura because they denied allegiance to the Caliph.[46] The Karmatian rulers were allied in faith with the Fatimid dynasty of Egypt, which was founded by an Isma'ilian in 909-910 as a rival to the Caliphate and which had become a source of great jealousy and trouble. The Fatimids extended their influence eastward into the Indus Valley at an early period. When the 'Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad took up the struggle for power with them, Sultan Mahmud, the Caliph's most powerful vassal, was naturally drawn into it.

The political rivalry between Baghdad and Cairo makes Sultan Mahmud appear less of a religious fanatic in his campaigns against the "heretic" rulers of Multan in 1006 and Mansura in 1026.[47] Be that as it may, it is no more than arm-chair musing to determine what really prompted the Sultan to invade India seventeen times. Contemporary writers bear witness to the magnitude of the suffering that his invasions brought to the people of India. Abu Rihan Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Biruni (973-1048), the illustrious star in the galaxy of scholars that adorned the court of Sultan Mahmud, accompanied

him to India. While residing in that country for several years, al-Beruni studied Sanskrit and Indian sciences with the Brahmans.

Commenting on the impact of Mahmud's campaigns in India, al-Beruni says: "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people." Al-Beruni further indicates that "their [the Hindus] scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Moslems."[48]

From these observations it should not be assumed that Sultan Mahmud's wars were against the Hindus as a nation or a united people. Indian states were split into small principalities and kingdoms and Hindu society was divided into castes and sub-castes,[49] lacking a sense of common citizenship or loyalty to the country as a whole.[50]

Hindu laws prescribe that each caste must adhere to its prescribed customs and usages. If "anybody wants to quit the works and duties of his caste and adopt those of another caste, even if it brings a certain honor to the latter, it is a sin, because it is a transgression of the rule."[51] In reality the cohesion of the Hindus was no other than that of their castes. They were devoid of inter-caste solidarity and national consciousness.

The resistance of the Hindus to Moslem rule was cultural rather than political. The Hindus "recoiled from the touch of the *Mlechchhas*, i.e., the impure barbarian Moslems."[52] This resistance largely took the form of cultural exclusiveness.

"Hindu sciences," al-Beruni says, "have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hands cannot reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places, and there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources."[53] The Hindu withdrawal manifested itself in the refusal to accept anyone "who did not belong to them," i.e., who was not within the caste system.

"This, too, renders any connection with them [Hindus] quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us [Moslems] and them," says al-Beruni in his famous essay on the culture of contemporary Indian society. Even in outward appearance, the Hindus differed from the Moslems "to such a degree as to frighten their children with us, with our dress, and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be devil's breed, and our doings as the very opposite of all that is good and proper." Al-Beruni is straightforward in his ad-

mission that "a similar depreciation of foreigners not only prevails among us and the Hindus, but is common to all nations towards each other."[54] From the observations of al-Beruni, it would appear that though the Hindus and the Moslems had to live together within the centralized Moslem state, the cultural streams of the two societies followed distinct courses of their own.

The empire founded by Sultan Mahmud stretched to Samarkand and Isfahan from Lahore, but its western limbs were soon lopped off. In a few years the Seljuks, after defeating Sultan Mahmud's son Mas'ud near Merv in 1040, had taken possession of all the Persian and central Asian provinces of the Ghaznvadis, from Balkh and Khwarizm to Isfahan and Ray (1037-1045). Now that the west was closed to them, the descendants of Sultan Mahmud learned to turn their eyes to the east.[55] In 1160 almost a century after Sultan Mahmud, Khusru Shah, the ruler of Ghazni, was attacked by a "horde of the Ghuzz tribe of Turkmans." Khusru Shah fled before them to Lahore, where he died in 1160. The Punjab was all that now remained to the descendants of Sultan Mahmud.

One might say that the Ghaznavide Punjab, including the north-western frontier areas and the Islamized Sindh, was the first Pakistan established by Moslems of diverse racial strains in the border provinces of India. This Pakistan differed, of course, from modern West Pakistan in two respects. First, the state was not unified; in the Punjab and north-western areas Ghaznavide rule was acknowledged, while in Sindh independent Moslem principalities held sway, even though Sultan Mahmud had divested them of their sovereignty. Second, Baluchistan, where the Moslem state of Makran became independent after the death of Sultan Mahmud, remained isolated. Culturally, however, these areas reflect then and today the synthesis of Arab and Persian cultures, both steeped in Islam

The large Moslem community that settled in the Punjab and Sindh for military, administrative, or commercial reasons, did not look upon the Indus Valley as occupied territory. The Hindus might have considered the Moslems chandals, heathens, and "low-caste cow-eaters," but the Moslems considered this new country their *vatan*, i.e., homeland. Lahore, the capital of the Isamized Indus Valley, became a place of endearment for them. The patriotism of these Moslems can be gathered from the poetry of Khawja Mas'ud Sa'd Salman (1048-1121).

Mas'ud Sa'd Salman was born in Lahore in 1048.[56] His father, Sa'd Salman, served the Kings of Ghazni for sixty years and acquired many

farms and estates in Lahore and other parts of the Punjab which were confiscated after his death. Mas'ud Sa'd Salman's life can be chronologically divided into two parts. The first was a period of happiness extending from 1048 to 1088. During this time he resided chiefly in Lahore and other parts of the Indus Valley, and occasionally in Ghazni. He was attached to the Court of Sayfud-Daulah Mahmud, Viceroy of the Indus Valley, as one of his favorite courtiers and principal military commanders.

The second period was marked by ill luck. Arriving in Ghazni in 1088 to demand justice against certain state functionaries who had seized his estates, he fell under suspicion of intriguing with the Seljuk King Malik Shah. By order of Sultan Ibrahīm b. Mas'ud b. Mahmud (1059-1099) the poet was cast into prison where he remained for ten years, of which seven were passed in the castle of Nay. After ten years the Sultan, on the intercession of a courtier named Abu'l Qasim-i-Khass, pardoned him and released him from prison. The poet then returned to Lahore and was again given possession of his father's estates.

During the long terms of imprisonment Mas'ud Sa'd Salman composed the famous poems known as *Habsiyat* or "Songs of Captivity." Nadhami-i-Arudi, the author of the famous *Chahar Maqala* says that whenever he heard these verses, his skin would tingle and his eyes would fill with tears at their eloquence and pathos.[57]

Mas'ud Sa'd Salman composed poems on a wide variety of subjects; some are full of melancholy love for Lahore, his place of birth. Since love of the native land is an important element in nationalism, one might call Khawja Mas'ud Sa'd Salman the first known patriotic poet of Pakistan, even though nationalism in its modern connotation would have been contrary to the poet's concept of the international brotherhood of "true believers."

The following poem was written during *'Id al-Adha* (the festival of sacrifice). There was rejoicing all around, but Mas'ud Sa'd Salman was in the prison of Ghazni, far away from his native land:

The festival time is come, and I am far from the face of that charming houri;
How can I exist without the face of that houri of Paradise?
Who shall say to me, "O friend, a happy festival to thee!"
When my sweetheart is at Lahore while I am at Nishapur?
Why do I recall the city of Lahore and my friends?
[*Because*] *no one can be indifferent to his friends and his native land.*

In another *qasida* entirely addressed to Lahore, wherein he grieves

and pines for the days passed in his native town, Mas'ud Sa'd Salman says:

O Lahore, wel-a-way, how farest thou without me?
How canst thou be bright without the luminous Sun?
Since this dear son of thine was parted from thee,
how farest thou in grieving for him with groanings and lamentations?
Thou wert the thicket, and I the lion of the thicket:
How wert thou with me, and how are thou (now) without me? [58]

After describing his prison, he expresses his longing for his fatherland:

I have not uttered one complaint against Fortune,
since I know that she acts under compulsion:
The only thing which troubles me from time to time is my longing for Lahore. [59]

All the patriotic poems of Khawaja Mas'ud Sa'd Salman are full of sorrow, tender emotion, and genuine love of his people and fatherland.

Of all the verses written in prison in their memory, the following quatrain in which he expresses his yearning for Lahore, remains matchless:

Thou knowest that I lie in grievous bonds, O Lord!
Thou knowest that I am weak and feeble, O Lord!
My spirit goes out in longing for Lahore, O Lord!
O Lord, how I crave for it, O Lord! [60]

These passages indicate a feeling of Moslem identity with the Indus Valley. Lahore, to the poet, symbolizes the new fatherland.[61] The poems also show that the settlers no longer considered themselves aliens. They light up the conflicting sentiments of Hindus and Moslems. The Hindus hated everything foreign and Moslem, while the latter, in spite of their condescending attitude towards the conquered, developed a deep love for their new country. In fact, this pattern of Hindu-Moslem conflict remained unchanged until 1947 when the Indus Valley became West Pakistan. The sentiments expressed in the poetry of Mas'ud Sa'd Salman form the basis for the modern nationalism which emerged full-fledged so many centuries later.

Chapter II

THE DELHI SULTANATE

The Ghaznavide rule in the Indus Valley did not endure. Mu'izz-ud-Din Sam, commonly known as Muhammad Ghori, who in 1174 inherited the throne of 'Alā-ud-Din Hasain Jahan-soz (the world burner), the conqueror of Ghazni, subdued the Indus Valley in 1185. The last Ghaznavide king of this valley, Khusru Malik, was imprisoned in Firoz-koh by Muhammad Ghori; five years later he and his son were put to death.

Expansion of Moslem Power From the Indus Valley to India. Due to the untiring energy of Muhammad Ghori (1174-1206) the Moslem power spread to all parts of northwestern India and also to Bengal and Bihar. Four of his Mamluk slaves rose to high commands under him: Yaldiz in the Afghan mountains, Kabāchā on the Indus, Bakhtiyār in Bengal, and Kutb-ud-Din Aybek at Delhi. Among these men Aybek was the most outstanding; his chief exploits were performed during his vice-royalty. Before the assault of his troops Hansi, Meerut, Delhi (1191), Rantambor and Koil; fell and he led the vanguard of his master's army in 1194 when it conquered Benares. Two years later Muhammad Ghori humbled the pride of Gwaliar, that "pearl in the necklaces of the castles of Hind," compelling Raja Solankhpal to render tribute. In 1197 Aybek won a signal victory over the vast array of the princes of Anhalwara. Thus the Kingdom of Gujrat came under the power of the Moslems. Kalinjar, the seat of the Chandel rajas, after desperate resistance fell before Aybek's attack in 1202. At the same time Muhammad Bakhtiyār carried Moslem arms for the first time across Bihar into Bengal. He made Lakhnauti his capital and brought his spoils and homage to the great Viceroy, Kutb-ud-Din Aybek. Aybek and Bakhtiyār completed the success of Muhammad Ghori by bringing nearly all India north of the Vindhya range under Moslem rule.[1]

As the King of Ghazni, Muhammad Ghori's strategy was to consolidate his strength in India in order to build an empire in Central Asia. He might have realized his ambitions had he not been assassinated on his way to Ghazni in 1206 by a band of Gakkars in the Punjab. After

his death the house of Ghor relapsed into insignificance, but the dominions it had conquered in India were not lost to the Moslems; they were consolidated under the rule of Muhammad Ghori's slaves and subsequent dynasties. From the days of Muhammad Ghori until 1857 there was always a Moslem king on the throne of Delhi.

The period from the death of Muhammad Ghori to the invasion of Emperor Babur (the founder of the Moghul Empire) in 1526 is known in history as the period of the Delhi Sultanate. During this span of time forty sultans ruled at Delhi. They can be divided into five dynasties. First came the Slave Sultans (1206-1287), descended from Kutb-ud-Din Aybek, Muhammad Ghori's slave or from Aybek's slaves. These were all Turks. Next followed the Khiljis (1290-1320), probably Turks in origin, but essentially Afghans in association and character. Third was the Turkish house of Tūghlak (1321-1398). Their dominion ended with Tīmūr (Tamerlane), who burst into India in 1398-9. The fourth dynasty was that of the Saiyyads (1414-1443), who claimed Arabian descent from the family of the Prophet Muhammad. They were succeeded by the Afghan Lodis, (1451-1526) who held the remains of the Delhi Sultanate until they were defeated by Emperor Babur on the fatal battle of Panipat in 1526.[2]

The Caliphate. Legally the Sultanate of Delhi was part of the eastern Caliphate.[3] Even when the line of Bagdad Caliphs came to an end the fiction of allegiance to the Caliph was kept alive. Shams-ud-Din Altmash, who succeeded Kutb-ud-Din Aybek, occupied the Delhi throne in 1210 by virtue of his military leadership and with the support of the Delhi officials of the royal army. He was nominated to the throne by the Turkish nobility when the supporters of Arām Shah, son of Kutb-ud-Din Aybek, failed to assure the throne for their candidate.[4]

To buttress his position as an independent sultan, to win status in the Moslem world and to satisfy the formalities of Moslem law, Altmash procured the robe of honor from the Caliph of Baghdad. Whether he did so by special request or whether the Caliph offered it himself, in order to enlist the support of a powerful Moslem ruler against the growing Mongol menace, is not quite clear, but it established the authority of the Caliphate on the Sultanate of Delhi. This meant the recognition of an authority outside the geographical limits of India. On coins issued by the sultans, and possibly in the *Khutba* (Friday sermon) also, the "first real sovereign of India claimed no other higher honor than that of being the lieutenant of the Caliph,"[5] thus

making India part of that vague but none the less real brotherhood of Islam.

Altmash's successor followed this example. The name of the last 'Abbasid Caliph of Baghad, al-Musta'sim (1242-1258) appeared on the coins of 'Alā-ud-Din Mas'ud Shah (1241-1258). Although al-Musta'sim was put to death by the Mongols in 1258, his name still appeared on the coins of successive Delhi Sultans, e.g. Rizya Sultana (1236-1239), Mahmud Shah Nasir ud-Din (1246-1265), Ghiyath-ud-Din Balban (1265-1287), and Mu'izz ud-Din Kaīqubad (1287-12-90), the last monarch of the so-called Slave Dynasty." [6]

The theory that the sovereign is the vicar of God was also pressed forward to cast a halo of superiority around Ghiyath-ud-Din Balban. The title Zillillah (the shadow of God), was originally the prerogative of the Caliph, but since the time of the Seljuks it had come to be applied to others as well. Though it had been used for Kutb-ud-Din Aybek and Altmash, Balban was probably the first monarch of Delhi who took it seriously and made much of it.[7]

A new dynasty of Khiljis arose in 1290. The same need for legitimization was apparently still felt, and the coins of Jalal ud-Din Firuz Shah II (1290-1295), continued to bear the name of Caliph al-Musta'-sim, though this Caliph had been trampled to death by the Mongols more than thirty years before.[8] His successor 'Alā-ud-Din Muhammad Shah I (1295-1315), ceased to insert al-Musta'sim's name and described himself merely as *Yamīn ul-Khalafat Nasir Amīr'l Muminīn,* the right hand of the Caliphate, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful.[9]

Although Hulagu Khan had put to death the last Caliph of Baghdad, al-Musta'sim (1246-1258) in February, 1258, the politicians could not forget the important role the Caliph had played in the political life of the Islamic world.[10] They had provided a semblance of legitimacy to such monarchs who had established themselves on the throne by murder, usurpation, or military exploits.

A difficulty of this nature arose in Egypt during the decadent period of the Ayyubid dynasty (1169-1252). Fifty years after it had been founded by Saladin the Great (1169-93) the reins of power were slipping from the weak hands of his successors. The administration of the country passed to the Mamluk *amīrs*—the Turkish slaves who had risen to commanding positions in the army.[11]

To give an appearance of legality to his rule the fourth Mamluk ruler al-Malik al-Zahir Baybars (1260-77) invited from Damascus in June, 1261 a scion of the 'Abbasid house who had escaped the Bagdad

massacre. He was installed in Cairo with great pomp and ceremony as Caliph al-Mustan'sir.[12] When in 1517 the Ottoman Sultan Salīm wrested Egypt from the Mamluks, he carried away with him to Constantinople the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, the last of the line of the puppet caliphs. Eventually al-Mutawakkil was allowed to return to Cairo where he died in 1543; with his death the shadowy 'Abbasid Caliphate of Egypt ended.

Although most of the 'Abbasid Caliphs in Cairo lived in humiliation,[13] there were Moslem princes other than the Mamluks who found them useful as purveyors of a title to the dominions acquired by fair or foul means. To their Moslem subjects, the Caliph remained the source of legitimate authority.

In 1325 Muhammad b. Tūghlak came to the throne of Delhi, allegedly by having his father murdered. After more than eighteen years he began to be troubled by doubts as to the legitimacy of his rule, since it had not been confirmed by the 'Abbasid Caliph. Accordingly he entered into correspondence with Caliph al-Mustakfi in Egypt, who sent a diploma of investiture from Cairo. Sultan Muhammad b. Tūghlak received it with marks of exaggerated respect, sent presents in return and had the Caliph's name inserted in the *Khutbak* and struck upon his coins.[14] For several years the name of al-Mustakfi, who died in 1340, continued to appear on the coins of Delhi with the prayer "May God make his Caliphate abide for ever."[15]

The next Tughlak sultan, Firuz Shah Tughlak (1351-1388) made a similar submission to the Caliph in Cairo. In an interesting little autobiography, he thus refers to the Caliph: "The greatest and best of honors that I obtained through God's mercy was, that by my obedience and piety, and friendliness and submission to *Khalifa*, the representative of the Holy Prophet, my authority was confirmed; for it is by his sanction that the power of kings is assured, and no king is secure until he has submitted himself to the *Khalifa* and has received a confirmation from the sacred throne. A diploma was sent to me fully confirming my authority as deputy of the *Khalifa*, and the leader of the faithful was graciously pleased to honor me with the title of *Saiyidu-s Salatin*. He also bestowed upon me robes, a banner, a sword, a ring, and a footprint as badges of honor and distinction."[16]

While Moslem potentates and the lay public continued to regard the Caliph as head of the Moslem world, sophisticated scholars and historians scoffed at the pretensions of the Abbasid Caliphs of Cairo. The historian Maqrizi, who died in 1441, revived the doctrine that

with the rise of the Umayyads the Caliphate had become a kingdom of violence and tyranny.[17]

The emergence of numerous political sovereignities in the world of Islam and the enthronement of more than one sovereign in different regions created a serious practical problem which could not be shelved any longer. The classical theory stressed that since there was one God and one law, there must only be one ruler.[18] Some jurists like al-Baqillani and Ibn Rushd (Averroes) believed that two or more Caliphs might be enthroned since the regions of *Dar-ul-Islam* had become very extensive, some of them widely separated by sea. Each was to enforce the law in his dominions according to the ultimate objective of Islam.[19] The famous jurist-sociologist Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) also subscribed to the doctrine of a plurality of the Caliphate. He notes famous authorities who are reputed to have held the same opinion such as Abu-Ishaq al-Isfarayinin, the leading speculative theologian, and Imam al-Haramayn Abu l-M'ali Abd-al-Malik b. Abdullah al-Juwayni (1028-1085). In discussing the founding of the Umayyad Caliphate in Spain, Ibn Khaldun says that " the numerous religious scholars in Spain rendered the oath of allegiance to the Umayyads and gave to the Umayyad 'Abdu-ar Rahman an-Nasir in 755 AD. and sub-subsequently to his descendants, the title of Commander of the Faithful. Somewhat later, the Almohads in the Maghrib (North Africa) did the same thing."[20]

When the doctors of law and historians could openly cast doubt upon the caliph's claims to exclusive leadership of the Moslem world, it was but natural that men of the sword should make the boldest assertions of their own independence. They refused to turn to the insignificant Abbasid Caliphs in Cairo for ratification of their claims to rule. Instead they claimed to derive their authority directly from Allah and to be his Viceregent.[21] Such designations as *Imam* and *Amir-ul Mu'minin*, which had hitherto been associated with the Caliphate, were dropped.

The frequent quotation of the verses, "and we made thee a *Khalifah* [Viceregent] on the earth",[22] and "He hath made you Caliph on the earth",[23] to the virtual exclusion of any other Qur'anic verse or tradition that had commonly been cited by earlier theologians when speaking of the Caliphate, points to the same conclusion: it was from God, and God alone, that these rulers derived their authority, and in such verses of the Qur'an God Himself announced their appointment as His Viceregents.

The Moghul Emperors of India, after the manner of their ancestors

in Central Asia usually assumed the title of Caliph. Beginning with the reign of Akbar they called Delhi *dār ul-Khilāfah* (abode of the Caliphate). Akbar's famous gold coins bore the inscription—"The Great Sultan, the exalted *Khālifah*."[24] Although Akbar and other powerful Moghul sovereigns assumed the title of Caliph, their claims never encompassed the whole Moslem world; they wanted only to convince their Moslem subjects in India that no outside authority existed which was legitimate and powerful enough to sanction their rule.[25] This formula worked during the heyday of Moghul power in India, but after the death of Aurangzeb (1707), the last powerful Moghul sovereign, the situation changed radically. The Turks in the eighteenth century revived their Caliphal claims and the Moslems in India once again accepted the existence of one Caliph for the entire Moslem world.

The Caliphate had a two-pronged impact on the Moslems in India. From the rule of Muhammad ibn-al-Qasim to that of the British they considered themselves part of the larger brotherhood of Islam. This entailed an extra-territorial allegiance which retarded the development of a territorially centered secular nationalism. Pakistani nationalism could only develop after a break with that vague transcendental feeling of belonging to the fraternity of "true believers." At the same time it precluded Hindu-Moslem cooperation, a prerequisite for the creation of a joint Hindu-Moslem nationality.

The Constitution of the Delhi Sultanate. The constitution of the Delhi Sultanate closely resembled that which the Arabs had established in Sindh. The Sultans of Delhi drew upon the experiences of early Arab, Ghaznavide and even Ghoride concepts of administration. Political institutions had been elaborately developed and all the sultans clung to them faithfully.[26] The Delhi Sultanate was a theocracy, in that all institutions were intended to serve Islamic laws.[27]

It is true that the constitution of the Delhi Sultanate in 1526, when Emperor Babur established the Moghul Empire, was not exactly the same as in 1210, when Shams-ud-Din Altmash inherited the throne from Kutb-ud-Din Aybek. Some changes were made according to the needs of the times. Throughout the three centuries it was the *Sharī'a*, the laws of Islam, that reigned supreme.

Examination of a few salient features of the constitution will throw light on the relationship between the conquering Moslems and the conquered Hindus. The most important office next to the sultan was that of the *wazīr* (minister) or the *Na'ib*, who acted in the name of

the sultan. During Ghaznavide rule the *wazīrs'* control of the military seems to have been largely confined to administrative and financial matters without including actual command of the army.[28] However, the *wazīr* of Shams-ud-Din Altmash conducted military campaigns.[29] This is no surprise, for it must have required every ounce of available fighting strength for the early Moslems to maintain themselves against the hostile Indians. No Hindu was ever elevated to the *wizarate*.

The second important office was that of the *Kadi-al-Kadat* or Lord Chief Justice, also called *Sadr-i-Jahan* who was the head of the judicial department. Under him was the *kadi* who pronounced judgement, the *mufti*, who expounded the law, the *kotwal* or public prosecutor, the *muhtasib* or censor of public morals and several other miscellaneous officials. They administered the Islamic law but in civil matters the Hindus had judicial autonomy in their *panchayats*.

The chief finance officers were: the *dīwān-i-ashraf* (accountant-general); the *mustaufii* (auditor-general of imperial accounts), and the *bakshī-i-fauj* (pay-master of the army), all acting under the *wazīr* and the *dīwān-i-wizarate* (revenue office). Other important officials were the *hājib* (lord chamberlain), the *wakīl-i-dār* (keeper of the keys), the *amīr-i-akhur* (superintendent of the stables), the *amīr-i-'amarāt* (chief engineer), the *amīr-i-koh* (director of agriculture) and the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* (chief justice of the realm).[30] The provincial governments took more or less the same form as the central government, the governor being the counterpart of the sultan. There were twenty-four provinces in India during the Sultanate.

Religious Freedom of the Hindus. As under the Arabs the Hindus retained the status of *dhimmis* and paid the *jizya*. However they were being increasingly employed in the political and military service, depending upon the inclination of each particular sultan. Legally they were allowed religious freedom and could preach Hindu doctrines,[31] but they were not permitted to build new temples without previous sanction. Actually in practice there is no case on record in which this permission was witheld.[32]

Some Moslem rulers were noted by Hindu historians as having governed the country in a very liberal manner. The names of Sultan Ghiyath-ud-Din Balban (1265-1287) and the two rulers of Bengal, Nasīra Shah and Husain Shah, are outstanding examples, eulogized by the Hindus in beautiful poems. The Maithili poet Vidyapati says: "Long live the Emperor [Nasīra Shah] of the five *Gaudas*." Vidyapati also spoke of Sultan Ghiyath-ud-Din Balban in exuberant language.[33]

Nasīra Shah, who ruled Bengal for forty years until 1325, is well-known for having initiated the translation of the *Mahābhārata* into Bengali from Sanskrit. The age of Husain Shah (15th century) has been compared to the Elizabethan Age (16th century) with regard to the advancement of vernacular literature under state patronage. Husain Shah reputedly befriended the vernacular poets of Bengal such as Maladhar Basu, Vijaya Gupta, Jisoraj Khan and a host of others. It was at his suggestion that Maladhar Basu translated the Bhagabata into Bengali in 1480, for which he received the title of *Gunaraj Khan* (the possessor of all virtues). Vijaya Gupta, the celebrated poet of *Padma Puran*, referred to Husain Shah as the "best of all monarchs."

Hindu sciences and philosophy also flourished under Moslem rule. In Bengal, as Dasgupta points out, Navadvipa was the center of Sanskrit learning surviving from the days of Hindu rule. Under the Moslems it occupied a pre-eminent position, becoming the seat of *Navya-Nyaya*, a new school of Hindu Nyaya philosophy which attracted students from all parts of India. The educational value of Navadvipa increased greatly with the advent of Vaisnavism in the 15th century.[34]

The repudiation of Islam by the Moslems in favor of Vaishnavism is a well-known phase in the Vaishnava history of Bengal and the southern parts of India. There is a record of a Moslem saint who adopted Vaishnavism and became afterwards known as Haridas Sadhu. The conversion of one Bijuli Khan and some other Pathans as told in *Chaitanya Charitamrita Madhyakhands* bears witness to the degree religious and cultural freedom enjoyed by the Hindus during the Delhi Sultanate.

In the remote provinces of the Sultanate, where Moslem settlements were scarce, Moslems often fell under the religious influence of Hindus. Not only did quite a few of them become staunch *Vaishnavas*, but many began to worship the goddesses Kali, Sitala Devi, Saraswati and Siva. It should not be assumed, however, that the Hindus started a systematic missionary campaign among the Moslems. By and large their religious leaders, the Brahmans, shunned such activities. We learn from *Vaishnava* literature that Chaitanya converted some Moslems to his faith,[35] but this was frowned upon by the Hindus.[36]

Even minor physical contact with a Moslem or a foreigner cost a Brahman his high caste. It is stated in Advutacharyya's *Rāmāyana* that "if a Moslem forcibly destroys a Brahman's caste by obliging him to take six handfuls of cooked rice, then such a Brahman may be taken into the bosom of [Hindu] society by performing an expiation

ceremony, for the fire of Brahmanical spirit burns up to six generations. . . . The purity of a Brahman is lost by taking beef, [even though he might take it under compulsion] when no ceremony will avail. . . ."[37] For a Brahman the purity of his status was paramount. Contact with Moslems and foreigners in the ordinary course of life was highly injurious to the principle of *Achara*,[38] which was the backbone of *Kulīnism*,[39] particularly in Bengali Hindu society.[40]

However, not all the sultans were as liberal as Husain Shah and Nasīra Shah of Bengal. Most of them were conservative Moslems who considered "idol-worshipping to be abominable acts of infidels." Firuz Shah Tūghlak (1351-1388), for instance, punished the Hindus who "erected new idol-temples in the city [Delhi] and the environs in opposition to the law of the Prophet. Under Divine guidance I destroyed all these edifices, and killed those leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error." The impression of a reign of terror is mitigated in the sultan's next statement: "I forbade the infliction of any severe punishment on the Hindus in general; but I destroyed their idol-temples, and instead thereof raised mosques."[41]

The Spread of Islam. Islam spread in India during the Delhi Sultanate. On the whole coercion was used rarely, as may be judged from the fact that even in Agra and Delhi, the centers of Moslem power, in modern times Moslems accounted only for one fourth and one tenth of the population respectively. At that time the entire Moslem population could be divided into two groups: the foreign born, who brought Islam with them, and those who were converted from one of the Indian religions under various inducements at different periods. First, and numerically most important among the foreign born were the immigrants from across the northwestern frontier who lived chiefly in Sindh and in the Punjab;[42] next were the descendants of the courts and armies of the various Moslem dynasties, mainly in upper India and to a much smaller extent in Deccan; lastly, all along the west coast, were settlers of probable Arab descent, who had come to India by sea.

The Delhi Sultans are said to have had very little of that "love for soul" which animates the true missionary. The Khiljis, the Tūghlaks and the Lodis were generally too busy fighting to engage in proselytizing activities. Missionary work was carried on by Moslem sufis (saints). Actually the missionary activities of the Moslems had started during the Ghaznavide rule in the Punjab. Shaikh Isma'īl of Lahore was one of the outstanding early *'ulamā'* (learned men). He was a

scion of the Saiyads of Bokhara and probably migrated to Lahore in 1026 when the province was annexed by Sultan Mahmud. Thousands of Hindus attended his sermons every Friday and Moslems generally believed that no "unbeliever came into personal contact with him without being converted to Islam." [43]

Another eminent sufi scholar, Ali Makhdūm Hūjwari of Ghazni, came to Lahore in 1039 with Sultan Mas'ud, the son and successor of Sultan Mahmud. His mausoleum[44] is located outside of the Bhati Gate of old Lahore. During the thirty-three years of his life in Lahore he was not only a source of spiritual inspiration and guidance for the Moslems, but under his influence thousands of Hindus accepted Islam. Khawja Mu'in-ud-Din Chisti, the celebrated saint of Ajmer spent forty days (c. 1075) of seclusion and meditation at his tomb; during this period he composed the verse later inscribed on the gateway leading to the mausoleum. Since that time Ali Makhdūm Hūjwari has been known among Moslems as "dāttā Ganj Bakhsh."

The conversion of the inhabitants of the western plains of the Punjab is said to have been effected through the preaching of Baha al-Haqq of Multan, otherwise known as Hadrat Baha ud-Din Haqq (d. 1276), and Shaikh Farīd-ud-Din Ganj Shakar of Pakpatan (d. 1266). A biographer of the latter gives us a list of sixteen tribes that were won over to Islam through his preaching, but unfortunately no details of his missionary work are provided.[45]

Shaikh Farīd initiated the policy of systematically training disciples and sending them to different parts of the country. This practice was successfully continued by his successor Hadrat Nizam ud-Din Auliya of Delhi. These efforts were not only confined to Sunni missionaries. Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, a modern cultural historian, says that "Isma'ili missionaries carried on systematic work in West Pakistan, and by allowing many Hindu practices to their followers, provided a half-way house between Hinduism and Islam." [46] Ultimately, with the spread of Islamic learning and an increase of orthodoxy, many who were on the fringes of Islam were absorbed and gradually became part of orthodox Moslem society.

One of the most famous missionaries of northern India was Khawja Mu'in ud-Din Chisti, who died in Ajmer in 1234. A native of Sijistan in eastern Persia, he received his call to preach Islam in India while on a pilgrimage to Mecca. In Delhi, on his way to Ajmer, he is said to have converted seven hundred Hindus to Islam.[47]

Fear of the conquerors often prompted Hindu rulers and people to convert to Islam. In the early days of Ghaznavide rule such conver-

sions were short lived and ceased to be effective after the retreat of the armies. This is illustrated by the story of Hardatta, a *ra'īs* of Bulandshahr, who submitted to Sultan Mahmud along with ten thousand of his followers.[48] After Mahmud retreated, these converts recanted at the earliest opportunity. When Kutb-ud-Din Aybek attacked Bran in 1193 he was stoutly opposed by Chandrasen, a lineal descendant of Hardatta. Not a single Moslem seemed to have remained under Chandrasen's rule.[49]

The early sultans often used persuasion and various worldly inducements. The Gakkars, a war-like people in the mountains of northern Punjab, are said to have been converted through the influence of Sultan Muhammad Ghori at the end of the twelfth century. The Gakkar chieftain was taken prisoner by the Sultan, who induced him to become a Moslem. After confirming him in his title of chief of the tribe, Muhammad Ghori sent him back to convert his followers. Since many of the latter lacked any strong religious convictions, they were easily prevailed upon to embrace Islam.At the same time a great many people in "the mountains between Ghazni and the Indus Valley were also converted, some by persuasion and others by force."[50]

According to Ibn Battuta, the Khiljis encouraged conversion by presenting a new convert to the sultan who clad him in a robe of honor and gave him a collar and bracelets of gold, of "a value proportionate to his rank."[51] An outstanding example of proselytizing zeal was Sultan Firuz Shah Tūghlak, whose mother is said to have been a Hindu lady. He says in his autobiography: "I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and I proclaimed that everyone who repeated the creed and became a Moslem should be exempt from *Jizya*, or poll-tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large, and a great number of Hindus presented themselves, and were admitted to the honor of Islam. Thus they came forward day by day from every quarter, and adopting the faith, were exonerated from the *Jizya*, and were favored with presents and honored."[52]

It is significant to note that "Islam has gained its greatest and most lasting missionary triumphs in times and places in which its political power has been weakest, as in southern India and eastern Bengal."[53] In Bengal a Moslem kingdom was founded at the end of the twelfth century by Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khilji, who conquered Bengal and Bihar and made Gaur the capital of the latter province. However, the Moslems of Bengal are not found mainly in the ancient centers of

government, but in the country districts, where there are no traces of settlers from the west.

In Bengal no consolidated religion barred the progress of Islam. This was different from northwestern India where Brahmanism was strong and vigorous after its triumphant struggle with Buddhism. In Bengal the Moslem missionaries were welcomed with open arms by subjugated masses who were "despised and condemned by their proud Aryan masters."[54] "To these people, fishermen, hunters, pirates, and low-caste tillers of the soil," says Dr. W. W. Hunter, "Islam came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the ruling race; its missionaries were men of zeal who brought the gospel of the unity of God and the equality of man to a despised and neglected population."[55]

When the Moslem armies poured into Bengal, says James Wise, "they were welcomed by the out-cast *Chandals* and *Kaibartta*. Nowhere was Hinduism so debased and so corrupt; and nowhere have the masses been treated with greater contumely and inhumanity than in Bengal."[56] There are occasional records of compulsory conversions, but generally Islam did not owe its permanent success in Lower Bengal (East Pakistan) to force, contrary to what some Hindu and British writers have said. The statistics of the East Bengal population in the nineteenth century illuminate this point. In the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, when the English magistrates first came in contact with the people of Bengal, they roughly estimated that only about one percent were Moslems. In 1830, when the first census of the city of Dacca was taken, the population figure was 66,677 including 35,238 Moslems and 31,429 Hindus.[57] In another census, taken in 1872 in Lower Bengal, Moslems were found to constitute forty-five percent of the population, being strongest in Baqirganj (1,540,965), Mymensingh (1,519,635), Dacca (1,050,131), and Tipperah (993,564). In the Dacca district, the Hindus numbered only 793,798, or 43.3 percent of the whole population.[58] Since Moslems no longer had political control and since there was no longer a migration of Moslems from northern India, the increase in the proportion of Moslems in East Bengal must have been due to peaceful conversions.

The history of Moslem Bengal is linked with the names of the sufis. Each district has its own saint; the grave of each is a place of pilgrimage for Bengali Moslems. The principal saints are Shaikh 'Alā-al-Haq, Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din Tabrizi, Shaikh Akhi Siraj-ud-Din 'Uthman, and Nūr Qūtb 'Alam.[59]

Emergence of Urdu. The language of the army, *Zabān-i-Urdu,*

developed from the contacts between the Persian, Arabic and Turkish speaking foreigners and the Hindi-speaking Indians. Although it took a long time for this language to develop into a literary medium "it was in its spoken form largely used by the Moslems to impart their religion to the natives." [60] Most Urdu experts concede that the language came into existence as the result of daily intercourse between Hindus and Moslems, but wide disagreement prevails concerning its exact origin. One school of thought, led by two outstanding historians of Urdu literature, Mawlana Muhammad Husain Azad and Ram Babū Saksena, maintains that Urdu owes its existence to the dialect prevalent near Delhi and Meerut, which was an off-shoot of Western Hindi. They consider the Gangetic Doab during the Moghul period its place and time of birth. Mīr Aman states that when Akbar Shah II, ascended the throne "all the nations of India gathered around him. But all of them spoke different languages. They mingled with each other and transacted business in the markets. In order to have themselves understood by each other they adopted a common tongue, Urdu." [61] Another eminent scholar, Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan, goes along with this theory but moves the date into Shah Jahan's reign.

A second school of philologists led by Mahmud Sherani and T. Grahame Bailey also believes that Urdu developed as the result of daily intercourse between Hindus and Moslems, but raises the question whether Moslems did not transact business with Hindus before Babur conquered India in 1526. We know that Hindus and Moslems established contacts before the defeat of Prithvi Raj in 1192. For 160 years Mahmud Ghaznavi and his successors held the Punjab. Did Hindus and Moslems not meet during this period?

Since the Aryans of the Punjab are usually tall, well-built, strong, and of sturdy stock, Sultan Mahmud recruited them in large numbers in his army. Based in and around Ghazni, the capital of the empire, they were used against the Seljuks, who had begun to cause serious alarm in the reign of Sultan Mas'ud. They were also employed to restore order in the Indus Valley. In 1033 Sultan Mas'ud appointed Tilak the Hindu, to take over command in the Punjab.[62] Tilak was a fluent writer both in Hindi and Persian which he had studied under the best teachers in Kashmir. The fact that a Hindu should have attained a command post at such an early stage of Moslem rule in the Indus Valley shows the degree to which the political and cultural contacts between the Hindus and the Persian and Turkish speaking foreigners had already been established.[63]

Tilak is not the only example of Hindi-Persian learning. Sultan

Mahmud, like many a soldier, loved the society of educated men. Napoleon imported the choicest works of art from the countries he subdued to adorn his Paris. Mahmud did better; he brought the artists, scientists and scholars themselves to illuminate his court. Among these scholars was a group of Sanskrit experts who translated both Hindi and Sanskrit works into Persian. The names of Tilak, Bahram, and above all the famous al-Biruni, have been enshrined in history.[64]

Therefore, what is said to have happened in Delhi must, in fact, have taken place in Lahore centuries earlier. The soldiers and people met in daily intercourse and they needed a common language. It had to be either Persian or old Punjabi. The Punjabi people, being overwhelmingly in the majority, established their language at the expense of the other. For some time the soldiers continued to speak Persian among themselves and with their fellow countrymen who settled in the Indus Valley. At the same time they spoke the local vernacular with the natives of the country. Ultimately Persian died out, first in Lahore, then in Delhi, though it continued to be the language of the court for hundreds of years after it had ceased to be spoken in the army.[65]

On the basis of these historical facts Mahmud Sherani and T. Grahame Bailey state emphatically that the formation of Urdu began as soon as the Ghaznavi forces settled in Lahore in 1027.[66] They cannot tell the precise time at which Persian was given up and Punjabi-Urdu began to be spoken. Bailey distinguishes two stages in the development of Urdu: (a) Lahori-Urdu beginning in 1027 and consisting of old Punjabi overlaid by Persian; (b) Lahori-Urdu, beginning in 1193, overlaid by old *Khari* (which was not very different then from old Punjabi) and further influenced by Persian; all of this evolving into Delhi-Urdu.[67]

A modern Indian philologist, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, adopts a middle course to explain Urdu's descent. He concedes that there were many Punjabi Moslems and Hindus in Delhi after the Turkish power was established there. The Turki Moslem court and its entourage, if they did not speak Persian or Turki, used the local dialect of Delhi for ordinary conversation "which happens to agree with the Punjabi dialect in some matters." In this way, Chatterji believes, the speech of Delhi, with a certain amount of influence from the Punjabi dialects, developed into a language (Urdu).[68]

The Punjabi school admits to a weakness in its theory, namely that no extensive Urdu literature produced in the Ghaznavide era exists

today, although some poetry by well-known sufis of the Punjab in early Lahori-Urdu is available. Shaikh Farīd-ud-Din Ganj Shakar is perhaps the earliest sufi of the Punjab who is known to have composed poetry in Lahori-Urdu. He was born near Multan and died in 1266 in Pakpatan. Sherani believes that Ganj Shakar, as he was commonly known, was the first Urdu poet.[69] The earliest known examples of Urdu prose are *Mi'rāj-al-Ashiqīn* and *Hidayāt Nama,* religious works written by Khawja Navāz Gisū Daraz (1321-1422).

There is no doubt that Urdu was understood and used in the Punjab in the Ghaznavide period and that the rules of its grammar and syntax had already been considerably developed.[70] It is true that the prose of this period is not available to us but whatever little evidence is at hand leads us to believe that the Punjabi spoken in the time of Shaikh Farīd-ud-Din Ganj Shakar was not radically different from the Urdu of that day, spoken elsewhere in India. It is not without significance that Urdu and Punjabi have 60% of their words in common, and that the rules of their grammars are identical.[71] In fact some Punjabi language books, when explaining grammar, do not consider it "necessary to do more than to show in what respect Punjabi differs from Urdu."[72]

Cultural Colonialism—Urdu in the Deccan. The historical forces that produced Urdu in the Indus Valley were also responsible for the creation of this language in southern India, an area far away from Delhi and the Gangetic-Jamna Doab. The transplanting of Urdu from northern India to the south also helps to validate the linguistic claims of the Punjabi school.

During the thirteenth century Urdu literature and the language itself had considerably developed, and there is ample historical evidence to substantiate the fact that the common people had adopted Urdu as a spoken language.[73] Urdu's first universally acknowledged poet, Amīr Khusrau, was born at Patiyali in 1253, died at Delhi in 1325.[74] He flourished at the courts of ten Delhi sultans of the "Slave", Khilji, and Tūghlak dynasties. He attained highest honors under the Khilji Sultan, Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Shah (1290-1295) when he "was assigned the Keeper of Royal Qur'an and the Chief Courtier."[75] A prolific writer both in Urdu and Persian, he composed toward the end of his life the last of his historical *mathnavis,* the *Tūghlak Namah,* an account of the reign of Sultan Ghiyath-ud-Din Tūghlak (1320-1324) the founder of the Tūghlak dynasty.

Urdu was introduced in the Deccan by Sultan Muhammad b. Tūghlak (1325-1351), the most striking figure in medieval India with ideas

far beyond his time.[76] In 1329 he decided to transfer the capital from Delhi to a central place in the Deccan, Devagiri, which he then named Daulatabad. Had he contended himself with merely shifting the court the change would have been painless, but according to contemporary historians like Zia-ud-Din Barni and Ibn Battuta the sultan decided to "transport the whole population of Delhi summarily and en masse to the new capital."[77]

Muhammad b. Tūghlak has been condemned by historians for changing the capital because it brought about untold miseries to the people. This charge is only partially correct because the main sufferers among the inhabitants of Delhi were not the Hindus but the Moslems. A critical analysis of Ibn Battuta and Barni and other statements of contemporary writers leads us to believe that the Hindus were not obliged to migrate to Daulatabad.[78]

One of the controlling factors in the Deccan was the scarcity of Moslems, which made it tempting for the Hindu rulers to revolt, and difficult to control for the faraway sultans of Delhi. Muhammad b. Tūghlak planned the transfer of the capital to save himself the trouble of having to march to the Deccan when trouble broke out, as Sultan Kutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah Khilji had done. His desire to make Daulatabad a center of Moslem culture and to plant there a colony of Moslems, as mentioned by Mubarak Kirmani, probably had this political motive behind it.[79]

Muhammad b. Tūghlak hoped in this way to solve the Deccan problem. He planned to employ holy men *(mashaikhs)*, disciples of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya and others for the peaceful dissemination of Islam in the south,[80] as had been done with remarkable results in northern India by Shaikh Bakhtiyār Kaki, Shaikh Farīd-ud-Din Ganj Shakar, and Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya. Each of these men had become a popular idol with a large following of both Hindus and Moslems.[81] They had been of great service in spreading Islamic culture and in fostering the growth of better relations between Moslems and Hindus. Their missionary activities were, to a large extent, responsible for making the alien Moslem rule palatable to the Hindus.

There are still important Moslem monuments in the Deccan originating from the reign of Sultan Muhammad b. Tūghlak. The graves of the poet Amīr Hasan, a comrade of Amīr Khusrau, of Shaikh Būrhān-ud-Din Gharīb, a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, and of Qadi Sharaf-ud-Din[82] bear testimony to the fact that Sultan Muhammad b. Tūghlak did succeed in transferring Moslem theologians and sufis along with the Moslem population of Delhi and its suburbs

to the Deccan. These graves afterwards became Islamic places of pilgrimage.

In 1347 Hasan Gango revolted in the Deccan against Muhammad b. Tūghlak. Assuming the name of 'Alā-ud-Din, he established the Bahmani dynasty which ruled in the Deccan for about two hundred years (1347-1526). The Bahmanids were followed by five dynasties which divided the Deccan between them: 'Imād Shahi of Berar, 1484-1572; Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar, 1490-1595; Barīd Shahi of Bidar, 1492-1609; 'Adil Shahi of Bijapur, 1489-1516; Kutb Shahi of Golkonda, 1512-1687.[83] Urdu became their official language because it was spoken by the ruling Moslems in the Deccan. This was a cultural rejection of the Delhi court, which never adopted Urdu, but retained Persian as the official language to the end. Urdu as it developed in the Deccan was known in common parlance as Deccani. Since it was based upon the tongues of the Moslems of north India, Suniti Kumar Chatterji describes it as "a colonial speech in the Deccan."[84] A general religious vocabulary developed since the Moslem sufis began to write in Deccani. The earliest Deccani writings are religious,[85] some of which were composed nearly four hundred years before there was any acknowledged Urdu literature in Delhi.[86]

Urdu as a literary language came into being in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an Indian speech in a Perso-Arabic script seeking inspiration from Perso-Arabic literature and the atmosphere of Islamic faith and culture.[87] The extreme Persianization of Urdu is, as Sir George Abraham Grierson rightly points out, not the entire responsibility of the Moslems, but stems to a large extent, from the efforts of the "ever pliable Hindu to assimilate the language of their rulers." Grierson believes that Urdu writers were *Kayasths* and *Khatris*, employed in the administration and acquainted with Persian, and not Persians or Persianized Turks, who used their own language for literary purposes. These Hindus were used to employing "the Persian character for their vernacular speech, and the consequent preference for words to which that character [Perso-Arabic] is native."[88]

The Urdu-Hindi controversy undoubtedly fanned the nationalistic fury of both Hindus and Moslems, but at a time when the Moslem rule had disappeared from India. Although Hindus had made a substantial contribution to the creation of Urdu they refused to accept it as their medium of instruction or official language. On the contrary they described Urdu as an alien language super-imposed on Hindi. When Moslems dropped Persian and adopted Urdu as their mother tongue, they expected it to be the language of both Hindus and Moslems.

However Hindus rejected Urdu and decided to adopt Hindi as the official language. That is how Urdu was identified with Moslem culture and political aspirations and the Hindus came to consider it a vehicle of foreign thought.

Sikhism. In spite of the social rigidity that Hindus maintained for self-preservation, they could not remain entirely insulated from the influence of Islam. "Caste, idolatry and esoteric obscurantism were the three baneful aspects of Hinduism that had been ruthlessly attacked by the protagonists of Islam, which was a non-idolatrous, simple and democratic creed that observed no distinction of caste or race."[89]

The Hindu religious reformation in medieval India was headed in these directions. Ramanuja (twelfth century) in the south, Namadev (d. 1350) in the Deccan, Mīra Bai in Rajputana, Ramananda (born 1300), Kabir (born 1398) and Rai Das (fifteenth century) denounced the Brahamanical caste exclusiveness by preaching and practice. Although some of these reformers preached *bhakti*, a doctrine in which statues have an important place, they emphasized the unity of God and the spirituality of religion. They appealed to the hearts of the people by singing to them mostly in their own language instead of the esoteric Sanskrit of the Brahmans. Ramanuja and Ramananda were Brahmans, Namadev was a tailor, Nanak a *Khatri*, Mīra Bai a *Rajputani*, Kabir a Moslem weaver,[90] and Rai Das a cobbler.[91]

Of all the religious reformers, Nanak is the most important for our study because he is the founder of Sikhism which later became a militant cult in the Punjab. Nanak was born in 1469 in the neighborhood of Lahore. His father, Kalu, was a Hindu of the Bedi sub-division of the once war-like Kshattriyas. Like many members of this caste he was a small trader in his native village. He seems to have been of a pious disposition and reflecting mind. There is reason to believe that in his youth he was familiar with Islam and had a general knowledge of the Qur'an in addition to the Brahamanical *Shastras.*[92] He became dissatisfied with the abstractions of Hindu philosophy and abandoned his home in search of wisdom through meditation, study and close contact with people. Before setting out on his long journey he put on a mango-colored jacket over which he threw a white *safa* (sheet). He wore the hat of a Moslem *(qalander)* together with the Hindu-style necklace and a saffron mark on his forehead—symbols indicating his desire to found a religion which would be acceptable to both Hindus and Moslems without conforming to either faith.[93]

The eclectic ideas of Kabir and Ghorakh seem to have left an enduring impact on Nanak, particularly selections from the writings of Kabir appear in the *Adi-Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs. When Nanak went to Mecca, the *qadi* asked him if the Hindus who read the Vedas and the Moslems who read the Qur'an would find God. The *Guru* replied with a hymn of Kabir:

> O brethren, the Vedas and the Qur'an are false, and free not the mind from anxiety.
> If for a moment thou restrain thy mind, God will appear before thee.
> O man search thy heart daily, that thou mayest not fall into despair.
> This world is a magic show which hath no reality.[94]

Nanak adopted many excellent ideas of preceding reformers, but he avoided some of their graver errors. In place of Ramananda's and Kabir's anthropomorphous divinity he invokes God as one the sole, the timeless Being, the Creator, the self-existent, the incomprehensible and the everlasting. He likens the Diety to Truth, which was before the world began, which is, and which will be forever as the ultimate cause of all we know or behold. This is, of course, the meaning of the *Jap'ji*, the famous morning prayer of the Sikhs, which is considered the central element of the Sikh faith. It shows the extent to which monotheism, presumably Islamic monotheism, had influenced Indian thought:

> There is but one God whose name is true, the creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent; by the favor of the *Guru*. [*Guru* is used here to represent God, the great Teacher.]
> Repeat His name.
> The True One was in the beginning; the True One was in the primal age.
> The True One is now also, O Nanak; the True One also shall be.[95]

Nanak addresses himself equally to the *Mulla* and the *Pandit*, the *Darvish* and the *Sannyasi*, and tells them to remember that the "Lord of Lords has seen numberless Muhammads, Vishnus and Sivas come and go."[96]

In line with the philosophical system of the Hindus Nanak's concept of bliss was for the soul to dwell with God after its punitory transmigrations have ceased. "Life," he says, "is the shadow of the passing bird, but the soul of man is as the potter's wheel, ever circling on its pivot.'[97] Nanak referred to the Prophet Muhammad and to the Hindu deities not as imposters or diffusers of evil, but rather as true emissaries

sent by God to instruct mankind. He did not claim to be divine, but he may have considered himself, as others did later, a successor to those inspired teachers,[98] who were sent to reclaim fallen mortals of all creeds and countries. Although his writings are full of wisdom and devotion, he did not present them as a direct transcription of the word of God;[99] nor did he say that his preaching required sanction by miracles.[100]

Nanak enjoined upon his followers devotion of thought and goodness of conduct as their primary duties, without fettering them by many rules. The immediate effect of his reforms were religious and moral only;[101] believers were regarded as "*Sikhs*" or disciples.[102] It is not likely that he had clear views of social or political advancement.[103] Nanak's concern was rather to prevent his principles from narrowing into monastic distinctions and his followers from becoming sectarian. He did not wish his sons to succeed him in the ministry. As his end approached he subjected his disciples to a trial of obedience or merit and chose the simple and sincere Lahna, known to Sikh history as Guru Angad.[104]

Little is related of the ministry of Guru Angad (1539-1552) except that he wrote down much of what he had heard about Nanak from Bala Sindhū, Nanak's companion. His writing was later incorporated in the *Adi-Granth,* the sacred book of the Sikhs.[105] Angad was true to the principles of his great teacher; not deeming either of his own sons worthy to succeed him he bestowed the apostolic blessing upon Amar Das, an assiduous follower.

Guru Amar Das (1552-1574) was a Kshattriya of the Bhalla subdivision. He was an active preacher and successful proselytizer. Emperor Akbar is said to have been his attentive listener. Amar Das' delight with the love and obedience of his daughter led him to prefer Ram Das, her husband, above his own son and the other disciples, and to bestow upon him his *barkat* or apostolic virtue.

Guru Ram Das (1574-1581) was a Kshattriya of the Sidhi subdivision and a man worthy of his master's choice and his wife's affection. Emperor Akbar held him in high esteem, giving him a piece of land on which Ram Das dug a reservoir still famous as Amritsar or "pool of immortality." However, he was not very successful in his missionary work.

Guru Arjun (1581-1606) succeeded his father Guru Ram Das. Arjun made Amritsar a center which would serve his followers as a symbol of their unity. Since his time the obscure little town has become a populous city and a famous place of pilgrimage for the Sikhs. Arjun

put the various writings of his predecessors in order, adding to them the best known and most suitable compositions of other early religious reformers. Terminating his work with a prayer, he called it the *Granth* or Book.

The *Guru* next levied a systematic tax in place of the customary offerings on his converts and adherents, who during his time were found in every city and province. Guru Arjun's agents went everywhere to collect the contributions of the faithful which they delivered to the *Guru* in person, thus making of the Sikhs a state within the Moghul state. Nor was the *Guru* indifferent to other means of acquiring wealth and influence; he dispatched his followers to foreign countries urging them to be as keen in trade as they were zealous in faith. His commercial transactions were probably extensive, although confined to the purchase of horses in Turkistan. His political ambitions involved him in a conflict with Emperor Jahangir, the account of which properly belongs to our next chapter.

Chapter III

THE MOGHUL EMPIRE

The Moghul Empire is noted for its cultural, educational, and artistic achievements, its grand successes and grand failures, its bold innovators and arch conservatives. Actually the founder of the Moghul Empire, Zahīr-ud-Din Babur (1526-1530), did not live long enough to introduce changes in the socio-political patterns of India. He was content to govern the country in the same fashion as the Lodis. He conformed strictly to Islamic law, excluding the Moslems from payment of stamp duties and confining the tax solely to the Hindus.[1] In this manner he further emphasized significant distinctions between Hindus and Moslems.

When Babur died in December 1530, he did not leave a tranquil throne for his eldest son Humayun. The qualities most needed at that time were a keen grasp of the military situation, boundless energy and initiative. Babur had not conquered the whole of the country; he had only partially subjugated a territory comprising little more than the united and northwestern provinces.[2] His territory did not include Bengal to the east nor the great southern provinces of Malwa and Gujrat, now united under one king. The many chiefs of Rajputana were cowed but not subdued; in most of the outlying parts of the Sultanate the Moghul power was but slightly recognized. Numerous Pathan officers still held powerful fiefs and these men had not forgotten that the sultans of Delhi had been their kith and kin. When a member of the deposed dynasty turned up in Bihar they helped him to prepare a formidable insurrection.

Nor was Humayun safe from the hostility of his own family. At the death of Babur the Moghul dominions were divided among his descendants. Mewat went to Hindal, Kamran received Kabul and Kandahar and Sambal was given to Askari.[3] Babur had particularly advised Humayun to be kind to his brothers but never was forbearance more cruelly tried. All of his brothers intrigued against him. Kamran had already been the ruler of Kabul under his father. Not only did he retain his western provinces but he annexed the Punjab. Humayun tolerated this usurpation — undoubtedly a shortsighted policy because it cut off the recruiting grounds of the Moghul army.

Apart from his treacherous brothers on the northwest, there were three ominous clouds on the horizon. On the east were the Pathans in Bihar, with Mahmud, a brother of the late Lodi Sultan of Delhi at their head. On the south was Bahadur Shah, King of Gujrat. In Bengal and south Bihar the Pathan confederacy led by Sher Shah was the more dangerous adversary. Humayun was perpetually hesitating between the first two. First he marched to Bihar and easily disposed of Mahmud the Lodi in a decisive victory near Lucknow in 1531. Instead of following up this success by crushing the routed Lodis he abandoned the seige of Chunar, Sher Shah's stronghold in Bihar, and accepted his perfunctory submission. Thus the most capable and ambitious man in the whole Pathan party was left free to pursue his designs on the throne of Delhi.[4]

This was the mistake which ultimately cost Humayun his throne. His brothers flirted with his enemies while Sher Shah consolidated his power in Bengal. On May 17, 1540 Humayun, without the help of his brothers, faced Sher Shah near Kanauj, and the famous battle of Ganges for a time put an end to the Moghul Empire in India.

For the next fifteen years Humayun led a life of wandering. He stayed in the deserts of Rajputana and Sindh for three years, where his son Akbar was born on October 15, 1542; then he fled to Persia where he became the guest of Shah Tahmasp. Aided by the Shah, he conquered Kandahar from his brother Askari in 1545 and took Kabul from Kamran in 1547.

During the absence of Humayun, Sher Shah, who belonged to the Suri tribe of Pathans, founded the Suri dynasty. The establishment of this dynasty had two important social consequences. Sher Shah was an administrator of genius who initiated many of Akbar's most famous fiscal and land reforms. In 1555 Humayun reconquered India and brought a large number of Iranian scholars and nobles with him who were Shi'ite. Thus for the first time the Moslem upper classes in India were divided along sectarian lines. This had far reaching consequences when the Moghul sovereigns loosened their grip in later times.

In 1556, shortly after his return to India Humayun fell from the steps of his library and died. Young Akbar, who was only a little over thirteen years of age, ascended the throne of Delhi under the regency of Bairam Khan. During the next seven years the regent consolidated Akbar's rule and crushed the power of those who threatened the young emperor. Akbar assumed full control of his dominions on his twentieth birthday. In spite of his faults and foibles, and they

were many, he became the greatest monarch of the Moghul dynasty. We are not concerned here with his conquests, which encompassed the whole of India, including Afghanistan, but with his administrative changes which brought about radical re-adjustments in the socio-political patterns of Moslem and Hindu societies.

Cultural Synthesis. Vincent Smith, a modern historian of Akbar, believes that the emperor was by nature a mystic who earnestly wanted to achieve a direct spiritual contact with "Divine Reality" and who now and again believed that he had succeeded.[5] His religious policies had far-reaching effects because they led to a social equilibrium between Hindus and Moslems which influenced the nationalistic development of both peoples. They may be divided into three periods: Until 1575, or possibly until 1578, he was a convinced Moslem of the Sunni sect, regular in his observance of the prescribed ritual and a zealous builder of mosques. The last mosque that he built was the *Buland Darwaza* (Lofty Portal), erected in 1575-6 at Fathpur Sikri. He continued to attend public worship regularly until 1578 and made his last pilgrimage to the shrine at Ajmer in 1579.

From 1579, the year in which he issued the Infallibility Decree, his belief in Islam became shaky. By the beginning of 1582 he ceased to believe altogether. He tried to invent a new religion for the whole empire under which Hindus and Moslems would worship in unison "One God," and recognize the *Padshah* (king) as His vicegerent on earth and the authorized exponent of His will.[6] In March 1575 he built the *'Ibādat Khāna,* (house of worship) which became the meeting place for the learned men, sufis and *mashaikhs,* at his court. This heterogeneous atmosphere had a humane influence on Akbar's personality. For example, he gave orders that every day some hungry persons should be fed with some of the food prepared for himself, and that afterwards he should be served. In the seventh year of his reign Akbar issued orders making it an illegal act to enslave prisoners of war.

In 1583 the emperor had two buildings erected outside the city. In these buildings he fed *fakirs* (indigents), both Hindu and Moslem. The Moslem building was called *Khairpura,* and the Hindu building was called *Dharmpura.* When the *jogis* (mendicants) began flocking there in great numbers, a separate building was erected and called *Jogipura.* The emperor used to hold nightly discussions with the *jogis* about their beliefs. One night in the year, called *Shiv-rat,* was appointed for a grand assembly of *jogis* from all parts of the country. On that occasion the emperor would eat and drink with them.[7]

Akbar was not content with acts of charity; he was equally interested in the academic and cultural development of both Hindus and Moslems. He had a large number of classics translated from Arabic, Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin into Persian. The subjects included geometry, algebra, history, botany, chemistry, theology, literature, and Indian epics, notably *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana.*[8]

In the opinion of many, Akbar's most unorthodox acts were his marriages with the daughters of the Hindu rajas of Rajputana. His son Salīm was born in 1569 to Akbar's Hindu wife, the daughter of Raja Bihari Mal of Amber. He assumed the title of Jahangir on succeeding his father. In order to understand Akbar's liberal orientation we have to return once more to the *'Ibādat Khāna.* Its exact design has never been ascertained but it seems to have been cruciform in plan, the four arms of a Greek cross forming four halls for the four classes of disputants and their supporters. The disputants were the *shaikhs, saiyads, 'ulamā,* and the nobles of the court who were interested in theology.[9]

At first none but Moslems were admitted to the discussions.[10] Although Akbar was attracted by a pantheistic mysticism he was still a professing Moslem. Even if he had desired to admit those of other leanings the strength of the orthodox party would have prevented him.[11] The largest number of participants were Sunnis or orthodox Moslems. Their party was led by Mulla 'Abdallāh Sūltan-Pūrī, entitled Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk, and by Shaikah 'Abdu-n Nabī. Their orthodoxy was beyond question but even the rigid Sunni historian 'Abdūl Qādir Badauni condemns the worldliness, avarice and duplicity of Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī and *Makhdūm-ul- Mūlk.* Badauni adds with approval that "owing to his [*Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk's*] exertions many heretics and schismatics had gone to the places [hell] prepared for them." [12] The opposition party was led by Shaikh Mubārak and his two illustrious sons, Shaikh Abu-l Fazel and Shaikh Faizī.[13] In order to understand clearly why the two parties clashed and what type of religions and socio-political innovations they wanted to uphold or eliminate, a study of their backgrounds, their beliefs and their stakes in the social system is imperative. Let us start with the leaders of the orthodox party.

Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk, 'Abdallāh Sūltan-Pūri. Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk was of Arab descent, his ancestors having migrated from Multan to Sūltanpūr. He was a great scholar of the Qur'an, *Hadith,* and Sharī'a and highly respected by the contemporary kings. His theological works include *Tānzia-al-Ānbiā* and *Shamaʾl-i Nabvī.* Humayun conferred on

him the titles of Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk and Shaikh-ul-Islam. When Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah in May, 1540, and left India, Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk ingratiated himself with the conqueror. Under Sher Shah's son, Salīm Shah, he rose to a position of great eminence.[14] But when Humayun reconquered India, Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk again became the favorite of the king, because prudently, he had maintained contact with him.[15]

Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk was a man of the world who did not hesitate to interpret the laws of Islam for his own gain. In 1575 he declared that it was not a religious duty and that it was even sinful to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. When asked for his reasons he replied that there were only two ways to Mecca, one by Iraq, the other by Gujrat. By the former route, he said, a man had to hear the abusive language from the Kazilbashes (Persian Shi'as) by the latter he must, before he embarked at sea, suffer the indignity of obtaining a passport from the Portuguese *firingis*. This passport was stamped with portraits of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, and therefore tinged with idolatry. Thus both ways to Mecca should be prohibited.[16]

By another trick Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk avoided payment of the legal alms *(zakah)* due upon his wealth. At the end of each year he used to make over all his property to his wife, but before the year had run out he would take it all back again.[17] When *Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk* began to fall into discredit Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī succeeded him in the good graces of the king. Whereupon Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk published a tract accusing Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī of having been instrumental in the deaths of Khizer Khan Shirwani, condemned for reviling the Prophet, and Ali Habsh, charged with heresy. Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk further claimed that Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī was unworthy to mount the pulpit because of bodily infirmity and because he had been disowned by his father for perverse and undutiful conduct in his youth. Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī replied by calling Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk a heretic and a fool.

Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk died at Ahmadabad and was buried in Jallandhar. In 1582 Kadi Ali was sent from Fathpur to estimate the wealth that Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk had left. In Lahore he found such treasures "as defied the key of conjecture to open their lock." Several chests of gold ingots (*khisht*, literally bricks) were discovered in his sepulchre where he had them buried in the guise of corpses. The wealth which lay open to the eyes of the world was so great that "none but the creator could ascertain it."[18]

Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī. Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī was the son of Shaikh

Ahmad, the son of Shaikh 'Abdu-l Kūdūs, of Gangoh. He went to Mecca and Medina several times to study the Apostolic Traditions and demonstrated great piety. In 1564 Muzzafar Khan, the minister-agent of the emperor, recommended the *shaikh* to the emperor for the post of *Sadr-us-Sudūr* (chief of religious endowments). When he was appointed to the *Sadarat*, he distributed among the people a great quantity of *madad m'ash, wakf,* and pensions. No *Sadr* during any former reign had had so much power, "and no one gave away one-tenth of the wakf land that he did."[19]

Akbar was for some time so intimate and unceremonious with him that at the close of a visit he would rise to help the *shaikh* with his shoes. Prince Salīm, known to history as Emperor Jahangir, was for a time a student of Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī. He learned from him the *Chahil-Hadith* (forty Traditions) of Mawlana Jammi.[20]

Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī's fall was caused by his severity and arrogance. Kadi 'Abdur Rahman of Muttra complained to him that a rich and obstinate Brahman had taken all the materials which he had collected for the construction of a mosque and used them instead to build a temple for an idol. Moreover when the *kadi* remonstrated with him, the Brahman, in the presence of a multitude of people, abused the Prophet and all Moslems in foul language. When the *shaikh* asked for Akbar's permission to inflict capital punishment, the king would give no decisive reply. Instead he said that the *shaikh* was himself responsible for carrying out the law and inquired why he had consulted him. Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī thereupon issued orders for the Brahman's death. But since some *muftis* had recommended only public exposure and a fine, the emperor expressed dissatisfaction with the severity of Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī's sentence.[21]

The *shaikh* also had Mīr Habsh executed because he was in his eyes *rafzi* (Shi'a) and Shirwani put to death for abusing the Prophet Muhammad. Just about this time Mīr Moqim Asfhani and Mīr Ya'qūb Husain Khan brought some presents to the king from the Governor of Kashmir. It was rumored that Mīr Moqim had had a Sunni *mufti* executed to avenge the death of a Shi'a during a riot. Consequently Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī had both Mīr Moqim and Mīr Ya'qūb Husain Khan put to death for the audacity of killing a Sunni *mufti*.[22]

'Abdūl Qādir Badauni. Badauni was a devout Moslem from childhood on and learned the art of recitation of the Qur'an from Saiyyad Muhammad Meccī. When he was twelve years old he became a

student of Mian Hattam Sūnbhli, who taught him Islamic jurisprudence of the Hanafi School.[28]

Badauni is generally considered a bigot. His narrow-mindedness had its roots in the era in which he was reared. He received his education during the reigns of Sher Shah and Salīm Shah. These kings, like their predecessors, believed that India belonged to the Hindus and that Moslems could rule them only with power. In order to be powerful, they believed that Moslems must maintain their solidarity, which alone was the source of their strength. Badauni could not adjust to the new intellectual climate of Akbar's court which allowed freedom of thought to Moslem and non-Moslem alike.

Badauni is most famous for his history of Akbar's reign, *Mūntakhabu-t Tawarīkh.* Since many other authors have used this title, it is most frequently referred to in India and Pakistan as *Tarikh-i-Badauni.* Badauni's history was kept secret until the reign of Jahangir. Though Badauni professes to derive his information from the *Tarikh-i Mubārak-Shahī* and the *Tabākat-i Akbarī,* there is much original information in it, particularly on Akbar's religious and political innovations.

Badauni was not only a chronicler, but a man of versatile genius. He excelled in music, history and astronomy. Because of his sonorous voice he was appointed court *imam.* Early in his life he was introduced to Akbar by Jalal Khan Kūrchi. The emperor employed him to translate Arabic and Sanskrit classics into Persian. Notwithstanding this employment, for which he received generous compensations and a grant of rent-free land, he regarded Akbar and his ministers with aversion because of their unorthodox views. He also wrote a work on *Hadith* called the *Bahrū-l Asmār,* and a moral and religious book entitled *Najatu-r Rashīd,* which he undertook at the suggestion of his friend Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad

The Liberal Party. No less competent, the Liberal Party of scholars and learned doctors of theology was led mainly by Shaikh Mubārak and his two sons, Shaikh Faizī and Shaikh Abu-l Fazl. A review of their backgrounds and the reasons for their polemics with the orthodox party is appropriate.

Shaikh Mubārak. A reveller in spiritual experiences, Shaikh Mubārak was in turn a Sunni, a Shi'a, a Sufi, a Mahdi'st, and probably many other things as well. He seems to have been purely destructive, enjoying mainly the discomfort of his enemies. His great learning

fitted him for this task; he soon had the doctors of law cursing and reviling one another. Their vituperations at first diverted and afterwards disgusted Akbar.

Shaikh Mubārak was born in 1504. His ancestors had migrated from Yemen to Sindh in the previous century and had settled in the little town of Rail. About the time of Shaikh Mubārak's birth, his father left Sindh and settled in Nagor, near Ajmer.[24] In 1543 Shaikh Mubārak came to Agra and married a girl of the Qurayshi family. It was here in Agra that his famous sons, Shaikh Faizī and Abu-l Fazl were born, in 1547 and 1551 respectively.

During the reigns of Humayun (1530-1540 and 1555-1556), and the reigns of Sher Shah and Salīm Shah (1540-1554), Shaikh 'Abu-u Nabī and Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk Mulla 'Abdallāh Sūltanpūrī were the most dominant and influential doctors of *Sharī'a.* Their most outspoken opponent was Shaikh 'Allaī Mahdvī. Azad says "it cannot be established conclusively whether Shaikh Mubārak was Shaikh 'Allaī's disciple. In any case Shaikh Mubārak supported Shaikh 'Allaī against Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk and Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī in all their polemics."[25] Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk stood at the head of the influential group of court *'ulamā'.* One of the objects of the 'Allaī group was to break up this influence. Therefore, it is probably true that Shaikh Mubārak joined the 'Allaī group both for religious and political motives. As a result of this rivalry, Shaikh 'Allaī Mahdvī lost his life, Shaikh Mubārak earned the notoriety of being a "Mahdist" and Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk became his inveterate enemy.[26]

Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī and Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk took counsel with other learned scholars and advised the emperor that Shaikh Mubārak was a heretic and was leading others to perdition. With the emperor's permission officers were sent to arrest him. But sensing what was coming Shaikh Mubārak fled with his two sons. In desperation the police officers wrecked the pulpit of his mosque.[27]

Shaikh Mubārak then sought the help of Shaikh Salīm Chishti in Fathpur Sikrī, who was at the height of his prosperity and eminence. Shaikh Salīm sent him some money for his expenses and advised him to leave the country and flee to Gujrat. Then Shaikh Mubārak appealed to Mirza Azīz Koka, who successfully interceded with the king, saying that Shaikh Mubārak was a learned man and that his children were educated and promising. Accordingly the charges against Shaikh Mubārak were dropped and his sons were given positions at court.[28]

It is interesting to note that Shaikh Mubārak was introduced to the emperor only after his sons had obtained court employment. In 1566

Faizī was presented to the emperor as a poet, and in 1573 Abu-l Fazl was appointed a *mīr mūnshī*. In spite of the influence of his sons Shaikh Mubārak never sought regular employment in the government. His advice, however, was instrumental in obtaining the "Infallibility Decree" for the emperor, which put an end to the influence of the orthodox *'ulamā'* at Akbar's court. Shaikh Mubārak is known for his four-volume commentary on the Qur'an. He also translated *Hayāt-ul-Haywān*.

Abu-l Fazl Mubārak. At court Abu-l Fazl's influence became so marked that the Jesuits speak of him as "the King's Jonathan." He seemed to have had more influence over Akbar than any other person, occupying an informal position as private secretary. He was largely concerned with developing his father's ideas, especially those on universal tolerance and the spiritual headship of the emperor. Smith asserts that "it is not clear how far he devised or supported his master's unworthy insults to Islam which obviously violated the spirit of toleration" and maintains that Abu-l Fazl suppresses mention of them, and that our knowledge of those facts is derived only from Badauni and the Jesuits.[29]

Abu-l Fazl's official success was due partly to his exceptional intellectual gifts and partly to his adroitness as a courtier. His books dealing with Akbar's reign are one-sided panegyrics. He resembled Francis Bacon in combining extraordinary mental powers and capacity for work with the servility of an ambitious courtier. Father Monserrate, who knew him intimately, had no hesitation in declaring that Abu-l Fazl easily surpassed all his contemporaries in acuteness of intellect.[30]

His sincerity in adopting and advocating Akbar's religion may be doubted or even denied with good reason. Badauni relates a conversation which he had with Abu-l Fazl in 1576. Badauni inquired, during this conversation, "who will have a greater passion for all the notorious heresies than yourself?" The reply was "I wish to wander for a few days in the vale of infidelity for sport."[31] Abu-l Fazl's support of Akbar's new religion was largely motivated by desires of personal aggrandizement. Privately he continued to be a pious Moslem. This is supported by an anecdote telling of Prince Salīm's (Jahangir) malicious delight in finding forty scribes copying Qur'ans at Abu-l Fazl's house when the prince paid a surprise visit.[32] Abu-l Fazl was brought up as a learned Moslem theologian with sufi or mystic leanings. He was far too clever to believe in Akbar as the prophet of a new religion.[33]

It seems that most historians have misunderstood the psychological make-up of Abu-l Fazl. We should not forget that Abu-l Fazl was brought up in a hostile environment. The persecution of Shaikh Mubārak for his *mahdavī* leanings could not have failed to make a lasting impression on Abu-l Fazl's young mind. Being human it is understandable that Abu-l Fazl would do all he could to win the favor of the emperor and defeat the orthodox *'ulamā*, who were the inveterate enemies of his family.

We are fortunate in possessing a testament of his beliefs. This is in the form of a prayer, originally written by Abu-l Fazl as an inscription for a temple in Kashmir:

> O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee,
> And in every language I hear spoken people praise Thee.
> Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee,
> Each religion says, "Thou art one, without equal."
> If it be the Mosque, people murmur the holy prayer,
> And if it be a Christian church, people ring the bell from love of Thee.
> Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the Mosque
> But it is Thou whom I search for from temple to temple.
> Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy,
> For neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy Truth.
> Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,
> But the dust of the rose-petal belongs to the heart of the perfume vendor.[34]

Shaikh Faizī. Like his father, Shaikh Faizī was known as a deist, as a sun-worshipper and by a variety of other labels. From his writings it appears that although he was not an orthodox Moslem he believed in the unity of God. His commentary on the Qur'an, *Tafsīr Sawāth' ilhām wa Mawaradū-l Kalam*, follows the well-established rules of the classical commentators.[35] Faizī's Dīwān, (poetical work) *Taba Shīru-s Sūbh,* contains verses solemnly declaring his faith in the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. However, his loyalty to Emperor Akbar was so deep that he equates it with loyalty to God and declares that "unless you understand Akbar, you cannot understand God."

Faizī's support of the ultraliberal policies of the emperor, even though he did not actively contribute to them, made him very much of a heretic in the eyes of the orthodox party. The persecution to which Faizī's father was subjected by the *'ulamā*, contributed in no small degree to Faizī's hatred of their religious intolerance, and to the thorough liberalism which characterized this "king of poets."

Faizī was not ambitious for high official rank, but devoted himself

mainly to literary pursuits. The high esteem in which he was held by the emperor can be judged from the fact that a large number of coins struck in Akbar's reign contained his Persian verses, which were, not surprisingly, full of extravagant praises for the emperor.[36]

Akbar sent Shaikh Faizī on a diplomatic mission to the Moslem states of the Deccan. His letters to the emperor are full of details of his journey, diplomatic procedures and description of the wealth of the Deccan rulers but they lack deep understanding of the political issues at stake.[37] These letters indicate that, unlike his younger brother Abu-l Fazl who eventually became prime minister, Faizī was not an astute politician or diplomat. His talents fitted him for literary pursuits in which he excelled. During this period many translations were made from Sanskrit into Persian. They seem to have been done under the supervision of Faizī, by Moslem scholars of Sanskrit such as 'Abdūl Qādir Badauni, Nakib Khan, Mulla Shah Muhammad, Mulla Shabri, Sultan Hajī, Hajī Ibrahīm and others whose names history does not preserve.

Maheish Dāss Bīr-Bal. Among the Hindu courtiers only Bīr-Bal's name is associated with Akbar's *'Ibādat Khāna.* Some of his contemporaries said that he was a Brahman,[38] others claimed that he was a *Bhat,* or member of a low Hindu caste. He was not a scholar, but he supported Akbar's various religious innovations. The emperor liked him because of his wit and devotion and elevated him to the status of a raja. His military rank was only that of a commander of two thousand men but he was very close to the emperor. His importance lay in his suppleness and extraordinary diplomatic skill. On several occasions the emperor gave him difficult assignments, such as untangling delicate political situations with Hindu vassals of the empire.

Debates in 'Ibādat Khāna. By degrees more non-Moslems were admitted to the *'Ibādat Khāna.* The Zoroastrian theologian Mahyar-jī Rana, a leading *mobed* (theologian-scholar) from Nausari in Gujrat, who had been invited to court in 1578, took a prominent part in the debates at the *'Ibādat Khāna.* His influence showed in Akbar's acts of reverance to the fire, such as lamp lighting rites in the evening. This led many to believe that the emperor had become a convert to the ancient religion of Persia,[39] but he stopped before becoming a thorough Zoroastrian. Akbar acted in the same way with regard to Hinduism, Jainism and Christianity. He adopted so much of each religion that people thought he had become a convert, but he was never won over

completely. Actually he tried to devise a code of rites selected from all religions.

In 1573 a Portuguese Jesuit mission arrived from Bengal led by Father Antonio Gabral. The priest aroused Akbar's curiosity. However he did not consider himself knowledgeable enough and capable of assuming the post of a spiritual guide[40] and therefore recommended that the emperor seek the advice of Jesuit missionaries of the College of St. Paul at Goa. Akbar sent an envoy to Goa to ask for the services of two fathers well-versed in the gospel and other books of their faith. In response to this request Father Monserrate, Father Rodolpho Acquaviva and Father Francisco Enriques, a Persian convert from Islam, came to the imperial court.[41]

The priests were stern and uncompromising in expounding the requirements of the Catholic church, despite the temptation to be more lenient when the conversion of an emperor was at stake. Akbar could never be persuaded to concede two of their demands. The first was spiritual submission and implicit obedience, and the second dismissal of all his wives save one. The difficulty in complying with the second condition was political rather than personal. The Hindu chiefs of Rajputana who had given their daughters or sisters in marriage to Akbar had violated their social code. The dismissal of his Hindu wives from the palace as discarded concubines would have raised the whole of Rajputana against Akbar. His highest political object, the fusion of two great rival faiths and the establishment of a united empire, would have been irretrievably lost. The priests soon discovered that Akbar's ambition was to become the prophet of a creed of his own. Moreover, they were unable to appreciate the political consequences of his acceptance of Christianity.

Akbar Becomes Supreme in Temporal and Ecclesiastical Affairs. The quarrels between the two prominent orthodox party leaders, Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk and Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī either convinced Akbar that he could find no peace in Islam or furnished him with a pretext for abjuring Islam, since he had resolved to be supreme in spiritual and temporal matters. In 1579 a declaration was issued by the imperial court bearing the signatures and seals of Makhdūm-ul-Mūlk, Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī, Sadru-s Sudūr Kadi Jalal-ud-Din Multani, Sadr-i Jahan, the *Mufti* general, Shaikh Mubārak, and Ghazi Khan Bādakhshī, who had no rival in metaphysics. This declaration established the complete superiority of Imam-i 'adil (the just leader, i.e. the emperor) over the Mujtahid (chief lawyer) making his judgment supreme so that

everyone had to obey him in both religious and political matters.[42] The following is a verbatim record of the declaration.

"We have agreed and do decree that the rank of a Sultan-i'adil, [just ruler] is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid. Further, we declare that the Sultan of Islam, the refuge of mankind, the leader of the faithful, the shadow of God in the world—Abu-l Fath Jalalu-d Din Muhammad Akbar Padshah-i Ghazi (may God perpetuate his kingdom)—is a most just, wise, and God-fearing king. Therefore, if there be variance of opinion among the mujtahids upon questions of religion, and His Majesty in his penetrating understanding and unerring judgment, should incline to an opinion, and give his decree for the benefit of mankind and for the regulation of the world, we do hereby agree that such a decree is binding on us and on the whole nation.

Further, we declare that should His Majesty, in his unerring judgment, issue an order which is not in opposition to the Qur'an, and which is for the benefit of the nation, it should be binding and imperative on every man. Opposition to it shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of faith, religion, and property in this life. This document has been written with honest intentions for the Glory of God and the propagation of Islam, and is signed by us, the principle *'ulamā*, and lawyers, in the month of Rajab, 987 *Hijra*. [1579 A.D.]."[43]

With this legal opinion the emperor's infallibility in religious matters was established and opposition rendered impossible. The legal distinction between lawful and unlawful was set aside and the judgment of the *Imam* became paramount in regard to Islamic dogma. In other words Akbar became pope as well as king. This decree, which was forced upon the *'ulamā* obviously rendered the inter-religious discussions in the *'Ibādat Khāna* superfluous and they accordingly ceased. At about the same time, in the opinion of some contemporary Moslems, Akbar began to give many indications that he had lost faith in Islam.[44]

Dīn-i Ilāhī and Revolt. In 1580 Akbar's religious vagaries began to have ominous consequences. He had not yet promulgated his new faith but he had given serious offense to many Moslems. They considered their faith to be in danger and thought that the only way of saving it lay in deposing Akbar and placing an orthodox sovereign on the throne. Their choice fell on Akbar's half-brother, Muhammad Hakīm, the ruler of Kabul and nominally, though not in fact, a vassal of the empire.

It was in Bihar and Bengal that the Moslem officers first rose in rebellion. In Bihar all land grants had been rescinded. Both there and in Bengal other unpopular regulations had been enforced, such as a reduction of the field allowance for troops serving in Bengal from one hundred to fifty percent of their regular pay and in Bihar from fifty to twenty percent. The unpopularity of these measures was enhanced by the severity with which they were enforced and it needed but little effort to rouse the discontented. The fire of revolt was kindled by Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, the *Kadi* of Jaunpur. He declared rebellion against a sovereign who had abjured Islam a religious duty.[45] The mutiny started in Bihar. Raja Todar Mall was summoned from Bengal to suppress it and on his departure an uprising broke out in Bengal, led by members of the Qaqshal tribe of Turks. The Qaqshals proclaimed Muhammad Hakīm as their sovereign. The rebel forces concentrated near Teliyagarhi, but retired when Todar Mall advanced against them. Akbar's position, even in his own capital, was so precarious that he was unable to take the field in person. He discovered a conspiracy among his courtiers, headed by Shah Mansūr, the revenue minister, to invite Muhammad Hakīm to India and raise him to the throne.[46] Shah Mansūr was suspended from office and later executed and the other conspirators dispersed.

Early in 1581 Akbar was able to leave Fathpur Sikri in order to tackle his rebellious half-brother. Muhammad Hakīm, encouraged by exaggerated reports of discontent with Akbar's rule, had left Kabul with the intention of wresting the crown from his brother. He was bitterly disappointed when he discovered that not even the mullas of Lahore would join him. When he learned that Shah Mansūr, his chief partisan at court had been executed on February 27, 1581, and that Akbar was marching toward him with an army, he retreated hurriedly to Kabul.[47]

Muhammad Hakīm ultimately had to submit to the emperor and was humiliated by having his sister Bakht-un-Nisa appointed governor of the province of Kabul. By 1584 the rebellions in Bihar and Bengal were generally under control. The *mullas* (religious teachers) who had been instrumental in instigating the insurrection were sternly punished without public trial. Mulla Muhammad Yazdī, the *Kadi* of Jaunpur, who had sparked the rebellion by declaring it lawful, and sundry other *mullas* suspected of disaffection were "sent to the closet of annihilation."

Promulgation of Dīn-i Ilāhī. In order to celebrate his victory over

his brother, Akbar summoned all provincial governors to court for the Nauruz feast. It was at that occasion, in the rainy season of 1582, that Akbar promulgated his new religion, the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* or "Divine Faith."[48] He summoned a general council of high officials, and after discussing the evils of religious discord and strife, he declared that all religious bodies ought to be united "in such fashion that they should be both 'one' and 'all', with the advantage of not losing what is good in any religion while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honor would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the empire."[49]

He asked all who were present to express their opinions. Doubtless warned of what was expected of them, the officials assented to his proposals.[50] There was but one dissident voice, that of a Hindu Raja, Bhagwān Dās. He said "if joining your majesty means only willingness to sacrifice life, I have, let me hope, already given proof that I am a faithful follower. But I have been born a Hindu. Your majesty does not desire that I should become a Moslem. I know of no third faith."[51]

The creed of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* emphasized monotheism tinged by pantheism. It practically deified the emperor by declaring him God's vicegerent on earth, and included the adoration of the sun, fire and artificial lights. The effect of these regulations was to further the adoption of Hindu, Jain and Parsi practices, while discouraging or positively prohibiting Moslem rites. Between 1582 and 1585 members of the Islamic faith were actively harassed, a policy which became actual persecution later on.[52]

The political consequence was the loss of Moslem hegemony and elevation of Hindus to equal status. *Jizya*, that "blatant badge of inferiority hung around the necks of the Hindu subjects by their Moslem rulers," and the pilgrimage tax of 6 percent per head, which had been levied on the Hindus, were altogether abolished by the emperor. Notwithstanding the disaffection of the Moslems Akbar did succeed in mitigating the antagonism that had perpetually existed between the Moslem monarchs and their non-Moslem subjects. Thus the Hindus were given a reason for being loyal to their Moslem rulers.[53]

In the army and civil administration there was no office that lay beyond the reach of the Hindus. For the first time in Moslem India, Hindus enjoyed the status of full citizens. In 1594, of twelve finance ministers appointed to the twelve provinces of the empire, eight were Hindus. Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh, Rai Singh and Todar Mall served

successfully as governors of provinces. Todar Mall became Akbar's finance minister and highest public servant.[54] After the *A'in-i-Akbari* (laws of administration) were issued, fourteen Hindus were appointed to the rank of commander of one thousand men or above out of a total of 137 of such appointments, and fifty-one as commander of 200 men or above out of a total of 415. The use of Persian as the language of records and accounts led the Hindus to the study of Persian to facilitate their promotion to higher grades. A modern Indian writer, Jinarajadasa, regretting the fact that Akbar's *Dīn-i Ilāhī* failed to create a genuine Indian nationality, calls him "the first Indian."[55]

Dīn-i-Ilāhī and all that it entailed in political terms disappeared with Akbar's death. Two groups speeded its annihilation: the Moslem nobility and the Moslem clergy. The Hindu aristocracy on the other hand wanted to perpetuate the spirit of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī.* A strategem was worked out around the death bed of Akbar. Raja Mān Singh, the Governor of Bengal, and *Khan-i Azam* Azīz Koka wanted Khusrau, the grandson of Akbar, as successor, instead of his son Jahangir.[56] Khusrau was Raja Mān Singh's nephew and the son-in-law of *Khan-i Azam.* But the opposition, led by Saiyyad Khan Bahra, a scion of an ancient and illustrious Saiyyad family close to the imperial house, countered that this would be a flagrant violation of Chagatai law and customs. Mān Singh and Azīz Koka were unable to obtain the consent of Akbar or of the majority of the nobles and officers.[57] Their plan was defeated. After a heated debate the conference broke up.

The Saiyads of Barah derived their name from the twelve ancestral villages which formed their home in the modern district of Muzaffarnagar. Religious zeal and martial valor characterized their tribe. It was their hereditary right to hold the imperial standard on the field of battle.[58] In the eighteenth century they were to make and unmake emperors, but already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they played an important role in the politics of the empire. As the price of their support to Jahangir, they demanded his promise to defend Islam.[59]

Mujaddid Alf Thani: Back to the Prophet. Jahangir mounted the throne in the fort of Agra on October 24, 1605, after a week of mourning for Akbar. He abandoned all the religious innovations introduced by his father. The policies of Akbar had greatly weakened the religious and cultural consciousness of the Moslems, particularly of the neo-Moslems. The time was ripe for a great reformer. In 1604 Shaikh Ahmad, known to history as Mujaddid Alf Thani, at the age of forty,

had an inspiration that he should bring about a second millenium of the Islamic era.[60]

Shaikh Ahmad was a descendant of 'Umar, the second caliph. He was born in Sirhind on June 26, 1564 and received his early education at home. He memorized the Qur'an very early, and then took to the study of the *Hadiths*, *Tafsīr* (commentary), and *Ma'qūl* (philosophy), travelling from place to place in order to listen to renowned scholars. When he was at Agra studying *Hadith* and *Tafsīr*, the emperor's favorites, Abu-l Fazl and Faizī, heard of his brilliance and tried to draw him into their circle. The connection did not last very long because Shaikh Ahmad took serious offense at Abu-l Fazl's anti-Islamic attitude. It is said that a portion of Faizī's celebrated *Sawāth' Ilhām* was written by Shaikh Ahmad.[61]

After finishing his education at an early age Shaikh Ahmad was initiated into mysticism by his father who was an eminent Sufii. He received *Khilafat*[62] from him in the *Chishtiya* and *Suhrawardiya* orders. At age twenty-eight he went to Delhi and joined the *Naqshbandiya* order. In a short time he received the *Khilafat* from Khawja Baqi-Billah.[63] When Shaikh Ahmad started his reform movement he found that a pantheistic deity had been substituted for the monotheistic, personal, transcendent God of Islam. Under the influence of Hindu thinking, a widespread belief in *Karamat* (miracles of the saints) had developed. Even into sufism many means of developing occult powers, foreign to Islam, had been introduced. The mystics had gone to the extent of denying that the commandments of *Sharī'a* (the law of Islam) were universally binding. They regarded *Sharī'a* as something external and superficial, and were indifferent to the *Sunna* or Examples of the Prophet.[64]

Further, the *'ulamā'* or theologians had come to regard jurisprudence as the whole of religious learning. They had ceased to refer to the Qur'an and *Hadith*, the original sources of Islam. Consequently, only the juristic view of Islam was alive, the religious spirit had died. The task of reforming Islam on a spiritual and cultural plane was indeed stupendous. Long, strenuous and constant were the efforts he made to turn the tide.

He prepared a number of his disciples and sent them in all directions to preach the true Islam, emphasizing the *Ittiba'-i Sunna* (the examples of the Holy Prophet) and the commandments of the *Sharī'a*. This work was effectively undertaken in India and neighboring Moslem countries. Shaikh Ahmad also started a vast correspondence with eminent men in these countries. The letters expounded religious

doctrines and laid greatest emphasis on the *Ittiba'-i Sunna;*[65] they were widely circulated. He enlisted the great nobles near the Emperor as his disciples and through them brought about a change in the life of the court. When Akbar died and Jahangir succeeded him, Shaikh Ahmad began to extract a vow from all Moslems that they would not obey any orders contradictory to Islam. This campaign was vigorously extended to the army.

Asaf Jah, the prime minister, advised Jahangir to beware of Shaikh Ahmad whose influence was rapidly spreading, especially in the army and whose anti-Hindu views were creating unrest in the country. He wanted *jizya* to be re-imposed on the Hindus because, according to him, "*jizya* is designed to humiliate the infidels, since the dignity of the infidels is the humiliation of the believers,"[66] and advocated the destruction of Hindu temples. The emperor could not tolerate such preaching, which threatened the state's tranquility. In addition, he heard exaggerated reports of Shaikh Ahmad's spiritual pretensions. Jahangir called him from Sirhind and accused him of publishing certain un-Islamic pamphlets. He demanded *Sijda* (prostration) and imprisoned Shaikh Ahmad in the Gwaliar Fort, where he remained for two years. Afterwards Jahangir says, "the Shaikh was summoned to my presence and I released him, giving him a dress of honor and one thousand rupees, and setting him free to go or remain."[67] Shaikh Ahmad decided to stay with the emperor and thus had an opportunity to advocate his views. How much he and other *'ulamā'* succeeded in guiding Jahangir away from his father's policies can be gauged from the following incident. In 1621 when he conquered the fort at Kangra Jahangir ordered that "the *qadi*, the chief justice, and others learned in the law of Islam should accompany me and perform the ceremonies required by our religion. . . . I went up to the top of the fort, and, by the grace of God, the call to prayer, the reading of the *Khutba* and the slaughter of a cow, which had not taken place from the commencement of the building of the fort until now, were carried out in my presence . . . [and I also] ordered a lofty mosque to be built inside the fort."[68] Such ceremonies would have been unthinkable during the reign of his father.

The efforts of Shaikh Ahmad to purify the religious and political life of the Moslems cannot be overemphasized. In one of his poems the poet-philosopher of Pakistan Dr. Muhammad Iqbal extols the Shaikh's dignity and his refusal to prostrate himself before the emperor. In an expression of gratitude for the services that the Shaikh rendered to the Moslems, Iqbal calls him the spiritual guardian of the

Moslem nation in India and declares that it was God Almighty Himself who alerted the Shaikh to the dangers inherent in Akbar's religious and political innovations.[69]

Shaikh Ahmad's influence on posterity has been great indeed. His was truly the call "back to Muhammad," with far-reaching consequences in both religious and political terms.[70] His teaching radically affected contemporary Moslem thinking, giving it a new mystical and religio-juridical content. It opposed secularization of Moslem rule in India, and set in motion those forces for the re-creation of the pre-Akbar political system which triumphed during the reign of Jahangir's grandson, Emperor Aurangzeb.

Jahangir and the Sikhs. Jahangir's relations with the Sikhs were thorny. The fifth Sikh *Guru*, Arjun, had incurred Jahangir's displeasure because of his proselytizing activities, which included the conversion of some Moslems to Sikhism. Jahangir says in his memoirs that "many times it occurred to me to put a stop to this vain affair or to bring him [Guru Arjun] into the assembly of the people of Islam." Jahangir had been considering both of these courses when the *Guru's* support of his rebellious son Khusrau provided him with an opportunity to settle the matter.

After the suppression of Khusrau's rebellion Jahangir summoned the *Guru* to his court and sentenced him to death for countenancing treason.[71] Some influential Hindus intervened and it was decided that the *Guru* might be freed if he paid the heavy fine of one hundred thousand rupees. One of the Hindus, probably Dīwān Chandū Lal of Lahore, stood surety for him in the hope that the *Guru's* followers would pay that sum for the release of their spiritual chief. The *Guru* seems to have discouraged the attempt, whereupon Dīwān Chandū Lal tried to force him to pay. All attempts failed and the *Guru* died in prison. Soon afterward the surety also suffered the same fate.[72]

Jahangir declares that it was his intention to stop the Sikh *Guru* for religious reasons, but the fact that he failed to persecute the Sikh community as well seems to contradict him. Neither Sikh nor Moslem tradition tells of further persecution of the Sikhs.[73] Be that as it may, the fact remains that for the first time a Moslem sovereign of India executed a Sikh *Guru*. The Sikhs were thus provided with a martyr whose memory reminded the faithful that the Moslems were their oppressors and thus reinforced their solidarity. That the *Guru* had been put to death for political rather than religious reasons could hardly assuage the lacerated feelings of the Sikhs.

Cultural and Religious Isolation of Moslems Enforced. With the accession of Shah Jahan, the eldest son of Jahangir, to the throne of Delhi (1628-1658) the Moghul Empire entered upon a new phase. Shah Jahan was an orthodox Moslem. His mother and grandmother were Rajput princesses, but this does not seem to have influenced him greatly. The court ceremonies attracted his attention first. Salutation by *sijda,* (prostration) had been compulsory under Akbar. Under Jahangir the religious officers, the *kadis,* the *mīr ʿadals,* and the *sadrs* only engaged in this practice when they paid their respects to the emperor. Shah Jahan abolished *sijda* altogether.[74]

Shah Jahan was anxious to give his court a Moslem atmosphere. All the Moslem festivals were regularly celebrated with imperial grandeur. Seventy thousand rupees a year were set aside for distribution among the various charities; thirty thousand were given away during the month of Ramadān and ten thousand were distributed during the months of Muharram, Rajab, Shaʿbān and Rabi-ul-Awal.[75] When Saiyyad Jabol Gujrati was appointed the *Sadr-us-Sadūr* in 1642 he was given the rank of a *mansabdār* over four thousand men and he soon was elevated to the command of six thousand men. This naturally increased the influence of Moslem theologians at court. Never before had such a high status been combined with this sacredotal office. When Shah Jahan dispatched a mission to Kutb-ul Mūlk of Golkonda in 1635-36, he proclaimed himself to be not only the leader of the Sunnis ordained by God, but the rightful destroyer of all those who defied the Sunni variety of Islam.[76]

Ever since the advent of Moslem rule in India the cultural transformation of the neo-Moslems had been a concern of Moslem kings and religious leaders. The neo-Moslems lived at least for a generation or two as marginal people. In distant areas where original Moslems were rare, the neo-Moslems had a tendency to follow Hindu customs. When Shah Jahan was passing from Kashmir through Jammu during the sixth year of his reign he discovered, as Jahangir had done before him, that some Hindus of Bhadauri and Bhimber had married Moslem women and converted them to the Hindu faith. These women were cremated at death according to Hindu rites. Jahangir had unsuccessfully tried to stop this practice. Shah Jahan not only declared such marriages unlawful, but ordered converted Moslem women to be taken away from their husbands, who moreover had to pay a fine. They could escape the fine only if they accepted Islam. In carrying out these orders officers discovered more than four thousand such cases.[77] During the course of the same journey Shah Jahan discovered

seventy similar cases in Gujrat. Orders were given to scour the Punjab and four hundred additional cases were reported.[78] Shah Jahan also issued an order that Moslem prisoners of war were not to be sold to Hindus and that Hindu soldiers could not enslave Moslems.[79] Although Akbar had discontinued the practice of enslaving prisoners of war it seems to have been continued.

In 1629 and 1630 it was reported to Shah Jahan that Afghans in the province of Kabul were breaking the commandments of Islam. They were getting married without performing the *nikah*[80] and divorcing their wives simply by sending them away with "only three pieces of stone." If any traveller fell into their hands they did not hesitate to sell or enslave him and they practiced highway robbery as an honorable profession.[81] Evidently the Afghans in Kabul had not completely given up their pre-Islamic customs. To remedy these conditions Shah Jahan ordered that the "laws of *Sharī'a* and *Torah* should be rigorously enforced in the province of Kabul."[82] The reference to the *Torah* leads us to believe that a fairly large number of Jews were also engaged in these practices.

As a matter of policy Shah Jahan did not allow the construction of Hindu temples without his permission. He also forbade the completion of temples which had been started during his father's reign and ordered the destruction of those already completed. Three temples were destroyed in Gujrat, seventy-two in Benares and its suburbs and probably four elsewhere in the province of Allahabad.[83] The temple of Ichchabal was converted into a mosque.[84] Additional temples were destroyed during the course of military operations against rebel Hindu chiefs in retaliation for the demolition of mosques. The purpose of Shah Jahan's stringent measures was to prevent the preponderant majority of Hindus from overwhelming the Moslem population.

Shah Jahan's policies towards the Hindus softened after a few years probably due to the influence of this eldest son, Dara Shukoh, who was an eclectic like his great-grandfather Akbar. In order to soothe the feelings of the Hindu nobility Dara presented a stone railing to the temple of Keshav Rai at Muttra. An imperial letter written during the year 1643 to Jai Singh, Raja of Jaipur, conceded him full liberty to appoint the presiding priest at the temple of Bindraban built by Mān Singh. Mān Singh's mother had died in Bengal and in a letter of August, 1639, Shah Jahan granted two hundred *bigahs* of land to be attached to her mausoleum for its upkeep. The remaining eleven years of Shah Jahan's reign were conciliatory towards the Hindus but

the situation again radically changed when he was deposed by his son Aurangzeb in 1658.

War of Succession. Shah Jahan had four sons; all of them were fully grown having gained experiences as governors of provinces and commanders of armies. There was little love lost between them, but the three younger princes, Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad were usually drawn together by common jealously of the eldest, Dara Shukoh, who was the apple of their father's eye.[85] Shah Jahan, remembering his own disobedience towards his father, and ever-fearful of civil war tried to lessen their jealousy and power for mischief by appointing them viceroys of provinces as distant as possible from the capital and from each other. Shuja was sent to the east as the Governor of Bengal, Aurangzeb south in the Deccan, Murad west to Gujrat and Dara to Multan and Kabul, but the latter sent deputies and remained at Delhi.[86] Everyone foresaw trouble and even civil war at the succession to Shah Jahan's throne.

Shah Jahan had given clear indications that he wished to leave the crown to Dara. The latter enjoyed the grand title of *Shah-i-Būlānd Iqbal* (King of lofty fortune), the unprecedented rank of Commander of Forty Thousand Horses, and an income which a king might have envied.[87] His sons had military ranks as high as those of their uncles and his officers were frequently ennobled by the emperor. In short everything was done to make the people familiar with the idea that he was their future sovereign.

The princely career of Dara's younger brother, Aurangzeb, began in 1636 with the Viceroyalty of the Deccan. After approximately eight years of rule in the Deccan, "His Majesty, for the sake of his [Aurangzeb's] punishment, removed him from the Government of the Deccan and changed his rank and *jagir* (estate)."[88] At the request of his sister, Jahan Ara Begum, Aurangzeb was restored to his former rank and sent to Gujrat as governor (1645 to 1647). In 1647 he was dispatched to Balkh to conduct operations in central Asia. On his return he was appointed Governor of Multan and Sindh (1648). During his Viceroyalty of Multan Aurangzeb conducted two campaigns in Kandahar against Persian forces. He held this post until July 14, 1652, when he was appointed to the Viceroyalty of the Deccan for the second time. This second Viceroyalty of the Deccan lasted until 1658.

During the eight years of Aurangzeb's first Viceroyalty of the Deccan he paid four visits to his father, but only a few incidents of this

period are recorded in history. Although the court chroniclers say that he was dismissed from this viceroyalty, one of Aurangzeb's letters indicates that he resigned his post as a protest against Dara's persistent hostility and Shah Jahan's partiality to his eldest son. He wrote indignantly to his sister Jahan Ara Begum in 1654, when similar distrust and hostility were shown to him by the court during his second viceroyalty:

" . . . if His Majesty wishes that of all his servants I alone should pass my life in dishonor and at last perish in an unbecoming manner, I have no help but to obey . . . but as it is hard to live and die thus, and I do not enjoy his grace, I cannot, for the sake of perishable earthly things, live in pain and grief, nor deliver myself up into the hands of others. It is better that by the order of His Majesty I should be released from the shame of such a life, so that harm may not be done to the welfare of the state, and hearts may be composed about this matter. Ten years before this I had realized this fact and known that my life was aimed at (by my rivals), and therefore I resigned my post, so that I might retire to a corner and cause no uneasiness to anybody's heart, and be saved from harassment."[59]

Since the first expedition in 1649 against the Persian forces of Shah 'Abbās the Great had failed, Aurangzeb was sent in 1652 to command a second expedition to Kandahar. This second expedition failed also and Aurangzeb was unjustly blamed. He had been commander in name only since Shah Jahan had directed every move from Kabul through S'adullāh Khan, his prime minister, such as the removal of guns from one battery to another, the disposition of troops and the dates, hours and points of assault. Fast couriers brought the orders from Kabul to Kandahar in four days, and the prince merely carried them out.[60]

Aurangzeb's second Viceroyalty of the Deccan was marked by a series of wrangles with Shah Jahan. Since only Aurangzeb's version of these incidents has been preserved the chief blame seems to fall on Shah Jahan. There is, however, a great deal of truth in the statement that Aurangzeb's enemies had completely got hold of the emperor's ear and were using their influence to discredit him.[61] The result was that Aurangzeb was misunderstood, suspected and unjustly reprimanded from the very beginning of his term of office.

In 1657 Shah Jahan was reported to be seriously ill. A fratricidal struggle for the crown began at once, in which Aurangzeb and Dara took the principal parts. The following factors which determined the fate of the Moslem power in India are important: the violent

personal and ideological enmity between Aurangzeb and Dara; the ill-feeling between Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb; the religious and political tendencies of Dara, which created misgivings among many Moslems and a bid for increased power by both Moslems and Hindus.

Dara and Aurangzeb: Ideological Differences. In their religious and political leanings no two persons could have been further apart than Dara and Aurangzeb. Dara, in his thirst for philosophy, had studied the Talmud and the New Testament, the writings of the Moslem sufis and the Hindu *Vedanta.* The title of *Majmūa'ul-Bāharāin* (the mingling of two oceans), which he gave to one of his works, as well as the introductory remarks, indicate that he tried to find a meeting ground for Hinduism and Islam.[92]

Dara wrote several other books which are still available; some are in manuscript and others are in printed form. In 1640 he completed *Sfināt-al-Awliyā* (the lives of four hundred and eleven Moslem saints) and in 1642 *Skināt-al-Awliyā,* the biography of the famous sufi, Mian Mīr of Lahore. In 1657 he compiled *Sirr-al-Āsrār,* a translation of fifty of the *Upanishads.*[93] His views about the Qur'an alienated Moslem sentiment. He declared his faith in the divine origin of the *Upanishads,* and considered the Qur'an enigmatical and obscure and a derivative of the *Upanishads.*[94]

Dara often used vague expressions of questionable propriety, thus laying himself open to the charge of heresy. In a letter to Shah Dilroba he says, "it is a matter of thankfulness that my heart abjured 'outward Islam' and accepted 'real infidelity'."[95] It was a tactical blunder on Dara's part to assume the role of a holy man before he had ascended the throne. Mūsta'id Khan writes "of the censorable conduct of Dara in his inclinations towards Hinduism and his propagation of atheism."[96] This may be a perversion of fact but none the less it shows that Dara's proclivities were looked upon with strong disfavor by the Moslems.

Unlike Dara, Aurangzeb was a strict Moslem and as such was held in esteem by his co-religionists. He was a cool strategist and a man of strong convictions. People had seen him in the midst of a battle with the Uzbeks in Balkh, calmly dismounting and performing his evening prayers under fire. He had a natural keenness of mind and quickly assimilated what he read. He had mastered the Qur'an and the *Hadiths,* and he spoke and wrote Arabic and Persian like a scholar. Urdu, the language used by Moghul royalty in private life, was his mother tongue. He also had some knowledge of Hindi and could speak and recite popular sayings in that tongue.

As an act of piety, he would copy the Qur'an in a vigorous and masterly *nask* style. He presented two of his manuscripts to Mecca and Medina richly bound and decorated; a third copy is preserved at the tomb of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya near Delhi. Others were sold by Aurangzeb, who considered idleness a sin; he used to practice the trades of copyist and mat-maker in his spare hours. Some of his copies are still known to exist in various places in India and Pakistan.

Aurangzeb's favorite studies were theological works, commentaries on the Qur'an, the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, Canon Law, the works of al-Ghazzali, selections from the letters of Shaikh Sharf Yahya of Munīr and Shaikh Zain-ud-Din Kutb Muhi Shirazī, and other treatises of that nature. He also highly prized the *Nihaiyya* of Mulla 'Abdullāh Tabbakh. Like many other pious Moslems and even some ladies of the Moghul family, Aurangzeb committed the Qur'an to memory.

However, at this point the Hindus wanted another Akbar and Dara appeared to be his reincarnation. The Moslems had different ideas. Both were eager to safeguard their real or supposed rights. Dara tried to win over the Hindus. Aurangzeb, on the contrary, endeared himself to the Moslems to counter-balance Dara's position. Both of them were irrevocably committed to their respective policies on the eve of the war of succession.

Shah Jahan became sick in Delhi at the beginning of September, 1657. He recovered quickly and left for Agra on October 18, as a change of air had been recommended. Almost instantaneously Dara assumed royal powers. Perhaps in doing so he was within his rights as the presumptive heir to the crown of Delhi. Dara prevented letters from reaching his three younger brothers. The official newswriters were interned and forbidden to communicate with their chiefs on any account.[67] 'Isā Beg, Aurangzeb's agent at court, was imprisoned and his property attached.[68] Immediately the wildest rumors spread through the empire. Some people said that Shah Jahan was dead and that Dara was keeping this a secret until his own succession was assured. Others thought that he had had Shah Jahan transferred to Agra with a view to taking over the imperial treasury.

Shuja, the second son and Governor of Bengal, lost no time in proclaiming himself emperor, engraved his name on the coinage of Bengal and set out to march on Agra. Murad, almost at the same time, caused coins to be struck at Ahmadabad, ordered the *Khutba* for the king to be recited in his own name and assaulted the city of Surat. Of the four brothers Aurangzeb alone assumed no royal function. He

kept to himself whatever designs he may have had but he must have known that the accession of any of his brothers would mean death or captivity for himself. Soon Dara's policies spurred him into action. Dara first attempted to vanquish the brothers by setting them against each other, but this plan was too obvious to go unnoticed. Murad's Viceroyalty of Gujrat was conferred upon Qasim Khan, one of Dara's partisans. Murad was then sent to Birar, which had hitherto belonged to Aurangzeb.[99] Instead of marching against Aurangzeb, Murad plundered the city of Surat. Dara sent orders recalling the veteran Moghul army officers and generals from the Deccan, thus threatening Aurangzeb's position, whereupon Aurangzeb allied himself with Murad.

The Moslem nobles at court advised Dara not to hinder the progress of his brothers but to allow them to approach the capital where they could be easily and effectively subdued. The Hindu nobles Rao Satar Sal and Ram Singh were of the opinion that the Moslem courtiers did not have Dara's interest at heart. Dara contemptuously remarked, "I will soon make these short-trousered fellows [Moslem nobles] run as Satar Sal's orderlies."[100] This indicates that Dara intended to establish his empire with the help of the Hindu rajputs. The Moslem nobles secretly resolved to desert to Aurangzeb at the first opportunity.[101] In December, 1657, Dara dispatched his son Sulaiman Shukoh under Raja Jai Singh, to suppress Shuja in Bengal. Meanwhile Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar, assisted by Qasim Khan, set out to check the advance of Murad and Aurangzeb.

Toward the close of April, 1658 the combined forces of the princes came upon the imperial forces near Dharmatpur in the territory of Ujjan. Aurangzeb sent a Brahman orator to Maharaja Jaswant Singh with the message that "I desire to visit my father. I do not wish for war. Either come with me, or keep out of my way, that no blood be shed."[102] Jaswant Singh refused to listen to the request of the prince. A pitched battle was fought, culminating in the total route of the imperial forces. Both Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan fled. The defeat of the imperial army filled the capital with panic. Shah Jahan wished to lead the army against the insurgents. Had he done so the situation might have been peacefully settled. However, Dara was outraged by the defeat of Jaswant Singh and resolved to wipe out the disgrace by a victory which would glorify his name. Unfortunately for him this never happened.

Dara's army clashed with the combined forces of Aurangzeb and Murad on June 7, at Samūgarh. Although Dara's army and equipment greatly outnumbered his brothers', he was defeated. The battle of

Samūgarh was the signal for all the nobles to render their homage to Aurangzeb, who remained for some days on the field of his triumph busily engaged in intrigues with his father's *amīrs*. The nobles required little inducement to come over to the side of the winner. Shah Jahan sent Dara money and five thousand horsemen to help him reorganize his forces.[103] This unflagging devotion to his eldest son sealed Shah Jahan's fate. When the conflict was over he was given every comfort in the fort of Agra except liberty.[104]

Shortly after Dara was captured and brought to Delhi in August, 1659, the Moslem doctors of law signed a decree sentencing him to death on the grounds of infidelity and deviation from Islamic beliefs and practices. The following charges were brought against him: (1) Consorting with Brahmans, Yogis and Sanyasis, considering them as perfect spiritual guides and "knowers of God," regarding the *Veda* as the original source of the Qur'an and thus a divine book, and spending his days in translating it. (2) Wearing rings and jewels inscribed with the word *Prabhū* (Lord) in Hindi letters. (3) Discarding prayers, the fast during the month of Ramadān, and canonical ceremonies of Islam, while he believed himself to be a man possessed of a perfect knowledge of God.[105] Thereupon the emperor, "both out of necessity to protect the Faith and Holy Law, and also for reasons of state, considered it unlawful to allow Dara to remain alive any longer."[106]

Shuja and Murad were no match for Aurangzeb. Shuja kept up the struggle for another few years, but finally despaired and left the province of Bengal retreating into the wilderness of Arracan in May, 1660 with his family and less than forty followers.[107] Nothing further was heard from him during the lifetime of Aurangzeb. Murad was captured by a ruse in a state of drunkenness and imprisoned in the fort of Gwaliar. When he tried to escape Aurangzeb decided to finish his life. A son of Ali Naqi, whom Murad had murdered at Ahmadabad some years previously, demanded justice for the shedding of his father's blood. Aurangzeb directed the *Kadi* of Gwaliar to consider the evidence and to decide the case according to Qur'anic law. Murad indignantly refused to defend himself and the *Kadi* convicted him. Since Ali Naqi's son refused to accept blood money, death was the only sentence possible under Islamic law. On December 4, 1661, two slaves with their swords "released this prince from the narrow cell of his prison."[108]

Emergence of Nationalities. The reign of Aurangzeb (1659-1707) may be divided into two equal periods of twenty-five years each. The

first he passed in northern India which was then the center of all important religious, political and military developments. The second he spent in the Deccan, when all the resources of the empire were concentrated in that region; the emperor, his court and family, the bulk of the army and all his best officers lived there for a quarter of a century.

As already noted Aurangzeb owed his success, apart from his personal qualities of self-reliance, adroitness and single-mindedness, to the support of the Moslems. Without their arms Aurangzeb would never had emerged victorious from the deadly war of succession. The sympathies of the Hindus and their rajas had been with the ill-fated Dara. Aurangzeb was therefore committed to enforce and uphold Islamic laws in India.

On all administrative questions Aurangzeb sought to follow the rulings of Islamic Canon Law and the precedents set by the orthodox caliphs. The *kadis* were his guides in state as well as in church affairs. 'Abdūl Wahāb, Aurangzeb's chief *kadi*, particularly enjoyed the emperor's confidence and respect. The highest peers of the realm feared and honored 'Abdūl Wahāb while their hearts were consumed by jealousy of him.[109]

Islamic Ordinances of Aurangzeb. Soon after Aurangzeb's coronation in June, 1659 he issued the following ordinances restoring the rules of orthodox Islam in order to bring the life of the people into closer accord with the teaching of the Qur'an: Aurangzeb forbade the stamping of *Kalima* (the confession of faith) on coins as the Moghul emperors had done before him, "lest the holy words he trampled underfoot or defiled by unbelievers."[110] He forbade celebration of the day when the sun enters Aries (the first day of the Zoroastrian calendar), which was a custom introduced by the ancient kings of Persia and continued by the Moslem rulers of that country and the Moghul emperors of India. This was not within the orthodox practice of Islam and Aurangzeb substituted the coronation festivity in the month of Ramadān.[111]

A censor of morals *(muhtāsib)* was appointed to regulate the lives of the people in strict accordance with the Holy Law. Drinking distilled spirits, eating *bhang* (opiates), gambling and illicit relations between the sexes were strictly forbidden. Mulla Auz Wajih, the most noted theologian in India, was appointed Censor with the rank of a commander of one thousand horses; a party of *Mansabdars* and *Ahadīs* was appointed to enforce his orders. The provincial governors were

ordered to assist the work of moral reform within their own jurisdictions on penalty of imperial displeasure. The old mosques and monasteries, many of which had become mere ruins through neglect of former sovereigns, were repaired by order of Aurangzeb. *Imams*, *khātibs* and attendants were appointed with regular salaries, and Moslem students were granted daily allowances according to their progress in studies.

This puritanical rigor increased as Aurangzeb grew older. At the beginning of the eleventh year of his reign he forbade the court musicians to perform before him and gradually music was totally forbidden at court. The unemployed musicians of Delhi, almost one thousand strong, assembled on a Friday when Aurangzeb was going to the mosque for prayers. They came out with over twenty highly ornamented biers, crying aloud with great grief. When Aurangzeb asked the cause of this great sorrow the musicians replied with sobs that the king's orders had killed music therefore they were bearing it to the grave. The king calmly replied "that they should see to it that it was thoroughly buried, and is never heard from again." However, this rule was enforced only in the principal cities.[112]

In March or April of 1670 the courtiers were ordered to give up the Hindu practice of greeting each other by raising the hand to the head, and to confine themselves to "Salam Alikum," peace be with you.[113] There is a report of two courtiers, the sons of Khan-i Jahan and Rūh Ullāh Khan, who were censured for violation of this rule in March, 1686.[114]

It had formerly been the practice of the emperors to apply a spot of paint *(tika)* with their own fingers to the foreheads of great Hindu rajas when investing them. Early in Aurangzeb's reign the prime minister was ordered to do this for the emperor but in May, 1679 the ceremony was abolished altogether as savoring of Hinduism. From then on the newly created rajas only made their bow (*taslīm*) to the emperor, who returned the salute.[115] All of Aurangzeb's predecessors, and he himself up to the eleventh year of his reign, used to appear every morning on a balcony of the palace to receive the salute of the people assembled on the ground outside. This ceremony was called *darshan* and "was akin to the Hindu practice of having a look at one's tutelary idol before beginning the day's work."[116] "Many people from among the Hindu nation popularly called *Darshani*, (who regarded their ruler as an earthly divinity), did not eat anything before having the beautific vision of His Majesty at the *Darshan* window."[117] Aurangzeb, fearing that he might be committing an un-Islamic act by

encouraging his subjects to worship his person, stopped his appearances at the *Darshan* window. Most of the imperial ordinances directly affected the lives of the Moslems, since they were designed to bring the mode of living in line with the simplicity of Islam.

Most condemnation was heaped upon his "attack on Hinduism in an insidious manner, and his campaign for demolishing the idol-temples of the Hindus."[118] His policy in regard to the temples was the same as that of his father. An imperial *farman* addressed on February 28, 1659 to Abu-l Hassan, the Governor of Allahabad, which has been preserved by the Brahmans of Benares, says: "In accordance with our Holy Law we have decided that the ancient temples shall not be demolished, but that new ones shall not be built."

Aurangzeb adds that "in these days of our justice, certain persons actuated by rancour and spite have harassed the Hindus resident in the town of Benares and in a few other places in that neighborhood. Certain Brahmans, keepers of the temples, in whose charge the ancient temples are, have also been annoyed. These persons desire to remove these Brahmans from their ancient office (and this intention of theirs causes distress to that community). Therefore, our royal command is that after the arrival of our illustrious order you should direct that in future no person shall in unlawful ways interfere or disturb the Brahmans and other Hindus resident in those places, so that they may as before remain in their occupations and continue with peace of mind to offer up prayers for the continuance of our God-given Empire, that is destined to last for all time."[119]

The *farman* is self-explanatory and hardly needs any comment. It sets forth explicitly the imperial policy in regard to the freedom of worship enjoyed by the Hindus in his reign. It should be pointed out, however, that many new temples which had been built without permission were demolished under the policy enunciated in the *farman*. "On April 7, 1670, news came from Malwa," records the official chronicler Mūstaʿīd Khan, "that Wazīr Khan had sent Gada Beg, with four hundred troopers, to destroy all temples around Ujjan. A *rawat* of the place resisted and slew Gada Beg with one hundred and twenty-one of his men." A few years later, the government again sent an expedition, under Darub Khan, with a strong force to punish the Rajput Hindus of Khandela and demolish the great temple of that place.[120] Darub Khan attacked on March 8, 1679 and destroyed the temples of Khandela and Sanulu and all other Hindu temples in the neighborhood.[121]

Just about this time two incidents were brought to the attention of

the emperor which must have roused his wrath against the Hindus. "It was reported to His Majesty," writes Mūsta'īd Khan, "that in the provinces of Thatta and Multan, and particularly in Benares, the Brahmans were engaged in teaching unholy books in their schools and Hindu and Moslem students flocked to learn their wicked sciences and were led astray from the right path." It also was reported that the *Kulis* in Gujrat, who had achieved a great deal of notoriety for their disturbance of the public peace, had not allowed the Moslems for one full year to offer their Friday prayers. "In Ahmadnagar," runs a *farman* of Aurangzeb to the Governor of Gujrat, "there is a cathedral mosque situated near the city gate. For a year the *Kulis* have not allowed the *Mūsalmāns* to offer their Friday prayers. See to it that no one disturbs the Mūsalmāns." [122]

In view of these incidents Aurangzeb "issued orders on April 9, 1669 to all the governors of provinces for the destruction of temples and schools [presumably where the Brahmans taught Moslem students] and totally prohibited the practices and the teachings of the unbelievers." [123] In execution of this order many Hindu temples were demolished. Among these were the temple of Malarna, which was destroyed by Salih Bahadur and the temple of Bishwanath at Benares.

On October 14, 1666 Aurangzeb learned that there was a stone railing in the temple of Keshav Rai which had been presented by Dara Shukoh. He ordered it to be removed as a scandalous example of Moslem flirtation with idolatry; in January, 1670 he issued orders to destroy this temple altogether, which had been built at a cost of 3,300,000 rupees. Imperial officers complied and a large mosque was subsequently built on the site. "The temple had been built by Bīr Singh Dēr Bundēlā," writes Mūsta'īd Khan, "with the permission of Emperor Jahangir. Bīr Singh Dēr Bundēlā had won the emperor's favor by murdering Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, the prime minister of Akbar, Emperor Jahangir's father." The statues of the temple which were set with costly jewels were brought to Agra and buried under the steps of the mosque of Jahan Ara to be trampled under foot by the Moslems.[124]

Jizya Levied on the Hindus. By imperial order, *jizya* was re-imposed on the Hindus in all parts of the empire beginning in April, 1679. This was done, as the court historian Khafi Khan records, to "curb the infidels and distinguish the land of the faithful from that of infidels." [125] When this order was published, the Hindus of Delhi and its suburbs gathered together by the hundreds of thousands and stood on the bank

of the Jamuna below the balcony of the morning salute. They piteously cried for the withdrawal of *jizya*, but the emperor turned a deaf ear to their lamentations.

When on the following Friday the emperor wanted to ride to the Jamuna mosque to attend public prayer, the whole road from the gate of the fort to the mosque was blocked by Hindu suppliants. It was impossible for the emperor to reach the mosque. At every moment the crowd increased until the emperor's carriage was brought to a stand-still. After waiting for an hour the emperor ordered elephants to be driven through the mass of men to trample them down and clear a way for him. Many Hindus fell under the feet of the elephants and horses.[126] For some days the Hindus continued to assemble in great numbers and complain but eventually they submitted to the *jizya*.

In levying the *jizya* Aurangzeb ignored the demands of political expediency. Akbar had abolished the tax to gain Hindu acceptance of Moslem rule in India. Aurangzeb's father and grandfather had recognized the wisdom of this move. Aurangzeb, however, was a man of different temperament. He cared not if he shook the empire to its foundation if it would strengthen the Canon Law of Islam. In the Deccan of Moghul times, particularly in Burhanpur, the tax could be collected only by force. Aurangzeb was inexorable and ordered the prefect of the city police to chastise every defaulter. This had the desired effect. A strict official like Mīr 'Abdūl Karīm was able to collect in 1682 Rs. 104,000 or four times as much from half a city in three months as had formerly been collected from the entire city within a year.[127] When a minister wished to oust his rival from favor he only had to complain that the latter had excused some Hindus from paying the *jizya*. The emperor would tell the lenient revenue minister, "you are free to grant remissions of revenue of all kinds; but if you remit any man's *jizya*, which I have succeeded with great difficulty in laying on the infidels, it will be an impious act and will cause the whole system of collecting *jizya* to fall into disorder."[128]

Aurangzeb's decision was undoubtedly motivated by the fact that *jizya* had religious and political significance and indicated the unequal status of the *dhimmis*. An army of Moslem collectors and *amīns*, usually men of reputed scholarship and orthodoxy spread over the country to assess and collect the *jizya*. Their number was so large that in 1687 a special inspector general was appointed to tour the country and see that the tax was properly collected.[129]

Aurangzeb was aware that it was unwise to oppress his subjects. All of the *farmans* issued to his governors are prefaced with reminders

that they should personally look into the well-being and prosperity of the people. With a view to ameliorating the economic conditions of the Hindus Aurangzeb abolished the pilgrimage tax which had been levied on them by his predecessors. He also abolished other taxes such as fines, presents, pasturage dues, road and ferry taxes, although some of these had swelled the state exchequer by more than two and a half million rupees every year.[130] However his custom duties continued to discriminate in favor of the Moslems. By an ordinance issued on April 10, 1665 the custom duty on all goods brought in for sale was fixed at 2½ percent of the value in the case of Moslems and 5 percent in the case of Hindu vendors.[131]

Apart from his financial policy the emperor issued another order which indicated that he meant to subject the Hindus to petty inconveniences and social humiliations. In March, 1695 all Hindus except the Rajputs and those who had been awarded *palkis* (carriages) were forbidden to ride *palkis*, elephants or thoroughbred horses or to carry arms.[132]

The Hindu Reaction. Such open attacks on the Hindus by the government naturally produced great discontent among them. There were some ill-planned and unsuccessful attempts on the emperor's life.[133] The wandering Hindu saint Uddhar Bairagi was imprisoned "as a punishment for his seduction of men to falsehood." In June, 1669 two of his Rajput disciples stabbed to death Kadi 'Abu-l Mūkaram. The imperial officers put to death not only the murderers but also their spiritual guide.[134]

Early in 1669 a popular uprising took place in the Mathura district where taxes were often collected by force and where the government had done nothing to win the love and obedience of the peasantry. 'Abdun Nabī Khan, who was the *faujdar* (governor) of Mathura from August 1660 to May 1669 was relatively free from personal vices but he gave the people strong provocation in other ways. Soon after assuming his position he built a *Jam'a Masjid* (mosque) in the heart of the city of Mathura (1661-1662) on the ruins of a Hindu temple. In 1669 the Jāt peasantry rose under the leadership of Gokla, the *Tilpat* (landlord), and 'Abdun Nabī marched out to attack them in the village of Bashara. He was shot dead in the encounter. Gokla, flushed with victory, looted the *paragana* (district) of Sadabad and the disorder spread to Agra.

Throughout 1669 lawlessness reigned in the district. By the end of November the situation had become so serious that the emperor was

forced to march from Delhi to the affected area. On December 14, Hassan Ali Khan, one of Aurangzeb's commanders, attacked the rebel villages of Rewarah, Chandar-Kaha and Sarkhund. The losses of the imperial forces were considerable, and among the rebels 300 were killed and 250 men and women were taken captive. During these campaigns Aurangzeb detached 200 horsemen to guard the village crops and prevent the soldiers from taking peasants or children prisoners.[135] In January, 1670 Hassan Ali Khan and his lieutenant Shaikh Razi-ud-Din of Bhagalpur, a rare combination of soldier, theologian, traveler and business man defeated Gokla. In spite of the death of their leader the Jāts carried on an intermittent war until the end of Aurangzeb's life.

Another insurrection, known as the *Satnami* revolt, broke out in the territory of Narnaul in May, 1672. The *Satnamis* were a Hindu sect, so called from their devotion to the name of the true God *(satya nam)* and nicknamed *Mundiyas* (shavelings) because of their practice of shaving off all the hair, including eyebrows, from their faces. They were a unitarian sect forming a close brotherhood among themselves.[136] A petty wrangle between a *Satnami* peasant and a foot soldier of the local collector swelled into a mass conflict due to the soldier's violence and the solidarity of the *Satnamis.* The quarrel soon evolved into a holy war against the destroyers of Hinduism. An old prophetess appeared among the sectaries and promised them invulnerability through her spells. The movement spread like wildfire. Aurangzeb sent a large army under Ra'dāndāz Khan with artillery and a detachment of the imperial guards. The emperor, who had the reputation of a saint among the Moslems, wrote out prayers with his own hands and ordered that these prayers be said for the leaders of his army in order to counteract the enemy's spells. After a stormy battle two thousand *Satnamis* fell on the field, many more were slain in the pursuit, and tranquility was restored to the country.[137]

Troubles With the Sikhs. Aurangzeb also had trouble with the Sikhs. These troubles were of long standing, going back to the reign of Jahangir. At that time lived Arjun, the fourth *Guru* of the Sikhs, whose story we have told already. Arjun had a son Har Govind (1606-1645), who constantly trained himself in martial exercises, was an enthusiastic hunter, and was much less spiritually inclined than his father had been.[138] Guru Arjun had a band of agents called *masands* stationed in every city from Kabul to Dacca to collect the tithes and offerings of the faithful. Har Govind issued an encyclical letter to

the *masands* to the effect that he would be pleased with those who brought offerings of arms and horses instead of money. When the saintly old Sikh Bhai Budha remonstrated against this unspiritual passion Har Govind replied "I wear two swords as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. In the *Guru's* house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined."

Upon hearing of the *Guru's* fame many warriors offered him their services. He enrolled as "his bodyguard fifty-two men who burned for the fray," and made them the nucleus of his army. He also enlisted five hundred men from Manja (the country between the Ravi and the Bias), the Doab (the country between the Bias and the Satlaj), and the Malva districts. These volunteers told the *Guru* that they had no offering to make but their lives; as salary they demanded only instruction in his religion. The *Guru* gave them each a horse and weapons of war and gladly enlisted them in his army. Among his followers he made Chand, Pirana, Jethas Paira, and Langaha each commander of one hundred men. It is quite clear that the hierarchy of Sikh leadership had already begun to think in political terms even though at this time their aims were not clear. The growing military strength and the royal pomp of the *Guru,* together with his worldly spirit and tastes made a clash with the government inevitable. The conflict erupted soon after Shah Jahan's accession. When that emperor was hawking near Amritsar the *Guru* entered the same area in pursuit of game, and his Sikhs quarreled with the servants of the imperial hunt about a hawk. The two parties came to blows and in the end the imperial servants were beaten off. An army was sent against the *Guru* and after a few bloody encounters he was forced to take refuge at Kiratpur in the Kashmir hills.

He died in 1645 after investing his younger grandson Har Rai, a boy of fourteen, as his successor. Har Rai's guruship was uneventful. Dara Shukoh paid him a visit of respect in the course of his general devotion to *sadh'ūs,* and Har Rai blessed the prince when he was a fugitive in the Punjab after the battle of Samugarh. Aurangzeb summoned Har Rai to explain his dealings with the emperor's enemies. The *Guru* sent his eldest son Ram Rai to represent him but that young man temporized and ingratiated himself with the emperor. Guru Har Rai was dissatisfied with the performance of his son and disinherited him. He died in 1661 after naming his second son, Har Krishan, as his successor. Ram Rai immediately proclaimed himself *Guru* and claimed his father's office and inheritance.

With a view to arbitrating the dispute the emperor summoned Har

Krishan to Delhi. Before he could comply with the emperor's summons he died of small-pox (1664) and "the same scene of disorder and rapacity again broke out among the Sikhs. Twenty-two new men of Batala claimed the right to succeed him. These self-made *Gurus* forcibly took offerings from the Sikhs."[139] After some time Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Har Govind, succeeded in being recognized as *Guru* by most of the Sikhs. In order to gain military experience he joined the imperial army and he and his personal followers fought in the Asam war of 1668. Upon his return to upper India a few years later, he took up residence at Anandpur.

At Anandpur Tegh Bahadur was drawn into the whirlwind which Aurangzeb's policies had unleashed. In his effort to strengthen Islam Aurangzeb made no distinction between Hindu and Sikh. As a soldier and a priest Tegh Bahadur could not remain indifferent to the humiliations imposed on his people. He encouraged the Hindus of Kashmir to defy the emperor's policies and was promptly arrested by imperial officials and brought to the capital where he was executed on December 11, 1675. A Hindu contemporary historian explained the *Guru's* execution by his refusal to perform a miracle. This view seems to have prevailed in the account given in the biographies of the *Gurus* written by the tenth *Guru,* Gobind Singh.[140] The execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur lit the fuse of open war between the Moslems and the Sikhs. One of the murdered *Guru's* followers threw bricks at the emperor on October 27, 1676 when he was alighting from his boat on returning from the *Jam'a Masjid* (cathedral mosque).[141] Soon a new leader appeared among the Sikhs. He organized the sect into the most efficient and implacable enemy of the Moghul empire and Moslems in general.

Guru Gobind Singh the tenth and last *Guru* (1676-1708) and the only son of Tegh Bahadur, was a man of whom it had been said before his birth "that he would convert jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks." By this time Sikh philosophy had evolved far away from Nanak's ideal. Nanak had claimed for himself only the position of religious teacher but gradually the *Gurus* were elevated to a superhuman position. Bhai Gurudas, who lived in the late sixteenth century, says in his exposition of the essence of the Sikh religion, "the Sikh who receiveth the Guru's instruction is really a Sikh. To become a disciple is, as it were, to become dead. A disciple must be like a purchased slave, fit to be yoked to any work which may serve his Guru. Love not but the *Guru;* all other love is fake."[142]

A natural consequence of such teaching was the unquestioning

devotion of the Sikhs to their leader which knit them together like soldiers under a revered commander. Har Govind told his disciples to "deem the Sikh who comes to you with the name of the *Guru* on his lips as your *Guru.*" Like other nascent nationalities, the Sikhs felt themselves to be a chosen people, the Lord's elect. Bhai Gurudas, one of the elders says: "truth is hidden both from the Hindus and the Moslems; both sects have gone astray. But when they lay aside superstition they form one body of Sikhs."[143] Increasing persecution from the Hindus and the Moslems was solidifying the Sikhs into a nation which would, in less than a century, establish a state of its own in the Punjab on the ruins of the Moghul empire.

After the death of his father, Guru Gobind Singh had remained in obscurity for about twenty years, occupying himself with hunting and archery in the hills of the northern Punjab. During this time he spent three years at Damdama, where he composed his *Granth,* known as the "Book of the Tenth King."[144]

At the time of Guru Gobind's investment in Makhaval-Anandpur he sent his mother Gujrai and his two sons Fath Singh and Zorāwār Singh to take shelter in the town of Sirhind. They were captured there by a force sent out by Wazīr Khan, the *faujdar* of Sirhind. The two infants were beheaded and Gobind's mother, overcome with grief and horror, fell down and expired on the spot.[145] Although Guru Gobind was bitter about the tragic deaths of his mother and children he was not powerful enough to defy the Moslem empire. However, his personal hatred for Moslems became part of the Sikh religion.

Sikhism Under Guru Gobind Singh. Guru Gobind's primary aim was to wreck the Moslem power in India and to found a new empire on its ruins. This was to be his revenge for the murder of his father, his two sons and his mother.[146] His followers considered rebellion against the Moghul government and the plundering of property belonging to Moslems as righteous acts.[147] Guru Gobind Singh did not, and perhaps could not, essentially change the teaching of his predecessors. He describes the Supreme Being in his *Japji* in nearly the same terms as those found in the *Adi-Granth.* He made the worship of the One Supreme Being obligatory, although the adoration of the minor deities was by no means rejected and he in fact personally worshipped the goddess Dūrgā.

The changes and additions that Guru Gobind Singh made concerned chiefly the ceremonial and social duties of his adherents. He received men of all castes and creeds into the *khalsa* (community) and endeav-

ored to weld them into one religio-political body. With this aim in mind, he promulgated a number of new regulations which were recorded in the *Rāhitnāmās*, (books of conduct). The following are some of the main rules: Temples, shrines and burning places are not to be worshipped, nor are other religions to be praised. The sacred Hindu books, the *Vedas, Shastras,* and *Puranas* are to be ignored as are the Qur'an, the *pundit* and the *mulla.* All Hindu and Moslem rites are to be discontinued including the Hindu ceremonies at the times of birth, marriage and death. No *tilak* should be applied to the forehead nor should the sacred cord or rosary be worn. Circumcision should not be practiced. A Sikh is never to wear a cap nor shave his head or beard nor wear red clothes. He should always wear breeches (the Hindu *dhoti* being forbidden) and carry some steel object, preferably a sword.[148] Needless to say, these injunctions distinguish a Sikh without any difficulty in a crowd of millions.

The rules regarding dealings between Hindus and Moslems are rather severe. A Sikh is not permitted to salute one who is not a Sikh on penalty of being considered an apostate and accursed by God. If he places a piece of cloth or anything belonging to a Moslem on his head he will suffer many deaths. A true Sikh should always be engaged in war with the Moslems and slay them, fighting them face to face. It is his duty to destroy the enemy of his faith and to spread the Sikh religion. He should never trust *jogis* (Hindu holy men, who are contemptuously called ear-cropped), or Turks (i.e. Moghuls, Moslems).[149] It is one of the ironies of history that a religious movement which was initially so heavily influenced by Islam and has remained strikingly monotheistic, should have become an anti-Moslem creed.

In the later part of his life Guru Gobind Singh, with a few of his faithful guards, undertook a journey to southern India by way of Bikanir and Baghaur. He returned to the north on hearing of Emperor Aurangzeb's death in 1707. The *Guru* assisted Bahadur Shah I, the eldest son of the emperor to secure the throne. In return Bahadur Shah bestowed many favors on him and invited him to join him on the march to Rajputana and the Deccan. Guru Gobind accepted this invitation. In August, 1707, at the head of a troop of infantry and two to three hundred cavalry, he reached the town of Nander on the Godavari River (150 miles northwest of Hyderabad). After staying more than a year in this town, he was stabbed to death by a Moslem. With Gobind the line of Gurus ended, but at his death a third potential nation rose in India.

Invasion of Rajputana. Westward beyond the Aravali range lay the Kingdom of Marwar, a vast plain broken here and there by low conically-shaped hills. This was the domain of the Rajputs, a subdivision of the Kshatriya caste, who were renowned in medieval India for their courage and chivalry. Its strategic importance, made the kingdom of Marwar a desirable prize in Aurangzeb's eyes. The chieftain of Marwar was Jaswant Singh, who had the rank of maharaja and was previously the leading Hindu peer of the Moghul court. He died on December 10, 1678 while commanding the imperial post in the Khyber Pass and the Peshawar district. Jaswant left no son to succeed him. Indra Singh (the Rao of Nagor), the grandson of Jaswant's elder brother Amar Singh, claimed the lordship. Indra Singh was a loyal noble of the imperial court and if the emperor had wished to preserve the life of Marwar he would only have had to invest Indra Singh. However, for more than five months after Jaswant's death no one was appointed to succeed him.

During this interval the emperor learned that after Jaswant's death two of his widows had given birth to sons at Lahore,[180] but he doubted the legitimacy of these children.[181] The Rajputs submitted a petition to Aurangzeb asking that the *raj* (rule) be granted to the heirs of Jaswant Singh. He did not summarily reject their petition but ordered the children to be brought to Delhi, promising to give them the *raj* and *mansab* (rank) when they came of age.[182]

Meanwhile the emperor made arrangements to bring the state of Marwar under his direct control. Moslem officers were appointed in the capital of Jodhpur to the administrative positions of *faujdar*, *kōtwāl*, *qilādār* and *amīn*. On January 9, 1679 the emperor himself set out for Ajmer in order to be close to Jodhpur in case military operations proved necessary. Outstanding officers including Asad Khan, Shaista Khan and Prince Akbar were summoned from their provinces to reinforce the emperor's forces. On February 7, a detachment commanded by Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur and other high ranking officers was sent to occupy Marwar. Another force under Khidmāt-gūzār Khan entered the hill-fort of Siwanah on March 1.

On April 2, after the occupation of Marwar was completed and maintenance of law and order established Aurangzeb returned to Delhi. On the same day the hated *jizya* was re-imposed on the Hindus, further alienating the sympathies and confidence of the Rajputs. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, a famous Indian historian, believes that if a worthy successor to Jaswant Singh had been found, he could have been the

rallying point of Hindu opposition to the "policy of temple destruction and *Jizya.*"[153]

In July, 1697, before the arrival of Jaswant's sons and their supporters in Delhi, the *raj* of Marwar was conferred on Indra Singh upon payment of three million, six hundred thousand rupees.[154] The investment of Indra Singh might have won the confidence of the Rajputs if the emperor had acted immediately after the death of Raja Jaswant Singh. At this late date, however, it gave the impression that Aurangzeb wanted to disregard the lineal descendants of Jaswant. Actually the investment of the young princes would have meant the rule of their followers which the emperor did not want. In May, Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur returned to court after taking possession of the city of Jodhpur and demolishing its temples. He was granted a special audience with the emperor who praised him highly for his services. "The cart-loads of idols which he had brought away were ordered to be cast down in the Armory Square of the Delhi fort and under the steps of the Jam'a Mosque, to be trodden upon."[155] Such public demonstration of contempt for the objects of Hindu worship created great resentment among the Rajputs. In July the emperor demanded to see the infant son, Ajit Singh, the other having died in Delhi. He sent a strong force under the Provost of Delhi and the captain of the imperial guards who seized the child and widows of Jaswant Singh and lodged them in the prison fortress of Nurgarh. The two widows, wearing male attire, managed to escape with the child and rode directly to Jodhpur. Ajit grew up in strict concealment among a monastic brotherhood on the lonely rock of Abū. The story of his escape from Delhi spread and his name became the rallying cry of the Rajput legitimists. The emperor dethroned Indra Singh, the Raja of Marwar after two months for incapacity to rule the state.[156]

On August 17, a strong force was sent into Marwar under Sarbūlānd Khan. A fortnight later the emperor himself started for Ajmer to direct the business of the state. At the end of October the state of Marwar was subdued. The emperor divided it into districts and appointed a Moslem officer as *faujdar* for each one. The pretense of rule by a native raja was given up and the state placed under the direct administration of the crown.

The Rathors and Sisodias (another branch of Rajputs), joined forces and the Raja of Udaipur took up the cause of Ajit Singh. By the end of November, 1679 war broke out again. The emperor, with his usual promptness, struck the first blow. On November 30, 1679 he left Ajmer for Udaipur and ordered Prince Akbar, his youngest

son, to lead the campaign against the Rajputs. Akbar's camp near Chitor was ambushed in May, 1680 and its communications with Ajmer rendered uncertain. The emperor sternly rebuked Prince Akbar for this failure, whereupon Akbar made common cause with the Rajputs. On January 1, 1681 he issued a manifesto deposing his father and crowned himself emperor. He was pursued from place to place until he gained a temporary refuge in the Deccan with Shambhaji, son of Shivaji, an avowed enemy of the Moslem empire in India. The Rajput war went on with varying fortunes but without interruption for thirty years, ending in August, 1709, when Ajit Singh entered Jodhpur in triumph. His lordship of Marwar was formally and finally acknowledged by Aurangzeb's successor.

The losses which the emperor suffered because of the Rajput wars cannot be measured solely in the men and money he poured on that desert soil. He had pitted all the resources of his empire against the two Rajput states and had failed to achieve success. With the two leading Rajput clans openly hostile to him he lost the finest and most loyal recruits for his army. More than anything else the wars convinced the Hindus of India that Moslem rule was not "Indian rule;" in their eyes it was naked imperialism. However, they lacked as yet a leader and common ideology that would be the basis of a truly Indian national consciousness for the Hindus. This leadership was eventually provided by Shivaji the Maratha, who created a Hindu state in the Deccan as a prelude to the establishment of a Hindu empire in India.

Wars with Marathas (1680-1707). Aurangzeb spent about twenty-five years in the Deccan fighting against Shivaji (1627-1680), whom he called "mountain rat," and his descendants. The Marathas inhabited the Maharashtra between the Indian Ocean and the Warda River. The northern boundary was the Satpura range and on the west coast their territory extended as far south as Goa. Strategically this area had a great advantage because it was protected by the inaccessible vastness of the western Ghats which climb precipitously to the great plateau that stretches right across the Deccan to the Bay of Bengal. Between the Ghats and the sea lies the Konkan, where deep valleys and torrents lead from the rocks and forests of the mountain ridge down to the fertile humid plains near the sea where the torrents loose themselves in sandy creeks among thickets of mangroves. The Ghats and the Konkan provided safe retreats for Shivaji in his guerrilla warfare against the emperor.

Shivaji was born in May, 1627 in the fort of Sivaneri. His father Shahji had just escaped from Daulatabad which was being overrun by Moghul forces. His mother fled with him from fort to fort until 1637, when amnesty was proclaimed and they were able to join Shahji in Bijapur. The next three years at the court of 'Adil Shah gave Shivaji a good insight into the strengths and weaknesses of that great but degenerate capital. Even at that time he showed open hatred and contempt for the Moslems and their culture. Shivaji was involved in more than one dispute over the practice of cow-killing, the perennial source of Hindu-Moslem friction. He would attack the butchers in the streets and set their victims free.

Shivaji's mother was a devout Hindu who hated Moslems. She refused to allow Shivaji to be married at Bijapur "lest the Muhammadans might defile the ceremony by their presence."[157] As a result of this upbringing Shivaji felt an intense love for his country and his religion, and an especially profound devotion to Amba Bhavani, the family goddess. There seems to be little doubt that Shivaji grew up with a sense of mission and that his career was inspired by a genuine desire to free his country from what he considered to be foreign tyranny.[158]

The revolution of Shivaji, which united the Hindus of the Deccan against the Moslem power of Delhi, was accompanied by a religious, social and literary revival in the Deccan. This took the form of a partial emancipation of the *Sudras*, the lowest of the four castes. Several *Sudras* were elevated to the higher orders of *Kshatriya* and *Vaisha* in protest against the formal ritualism and caste exclusiveness of the Brahmans. The appearance of *gurus*, saints, and poets, drawn from the lower as well as the upper strata of society, helped to foster nationalist feelings among all Hindu castes in the Deccan.[159] Shivaji supplied the uniting element, shrewdly playing upon the religious sentiment which so strongly appealed to the popular imagination.

A study of the preachings and writings of the Hindu holy men in the Deccan who spoke politics in terms of religion helps to understand the resurgence of national feelings among the Hindu masses and the political aims of Shivaji. These holy men believed that northern India was impotent under the Moslem rule and that the work of liberation had to start in the south. Among the Deccani saints who stand out prominently is Ramdas, a contemporary of Shivaji. Born twenty years before Shivaji and surviving him by two years, he started his own campaign by establishing *Ramdasi maths* (convents) in various places and assisting the efforts of political leaders. Ramdas

established eighty *maths*, which spread his influence right up to the southern tip of India. Particularly in the southern province of Tanjore Ramdas had many followers who continued to enrich Marathi literature for two hundred years.[160]

Ramdas' own writings deal with religion and politics. They are acute, penetrating and breathe an intense national spirit. Styling himself *Samarth* (powerful), Ramdas stood for an all-round national regeneration. The Hindus who lived in the *maths* were profoundly impressed by the teachings of Ramdas as expounded in his great work the *Dasa-bodha*. Ramdas' message inspired people to assist Shivaji in his mission of national liberation. Large congregations used to assemble to hear sermons, and most of the prominent associates of Shivaji accepted the Ramdasi cult. "Thus in the movement for *swaraj* [freedom]," comments the Maratha historian, Govind Sakharam Sardesai, "Shivaji represented the physical and Ramdas the moral force of the nation."[161] This is expressed in a letter of Ramdas to Shivaji: "O *Meru* of Resolution, thou who by thy vigilance didst spurn kings. The holy places were broken. The abodes of Brahmans were polluted. All earth was shaken. Religion had fled. Narayan resolved to protect the Gods, the faith, the Cows, the Brahmans, and inspired thee to do so. Near thee are many wise pandits, great poets, men skilled in sacrifice and learned in the Vedas; men quick and shrewd and fitted to lead assemblies. None of this earth protects the faith as thou dost."[162]

It was generally believed by Hindus, particularly in Maharashtra that the god Brahma heeded the solemn prayer of the devotees and agreed to undertake a fresh incarnation in Shivaji to redress the wrongs of the Moslems. A Maratha poet also echoed these sentiments:

> The corrupt Moslems have become our kings.
> Everywhere misdeeds have cropped up.
> Then He incarnated himself [in Shivaji]
> To remove the sins of this dark age.[163]

In a letter to Vyankoji, his brother who was a *jagīrdār* under the Moslem King of Bijapur, Shivaji clearly set forth his political ambition of establishing a Hindu empire in India. He would not allow his brother to be either independent or subordinate to Bijapur as his scheme of a Hindu empire would not brook a rival. He led an expedition against Vyankoji, humbling him into obedience and offering him a *jagir* in the Deccan. Shivaji writes to his brother: "God out of grace has assigned me a mission. He has entrusted to me an all-India empire *(Sarva-Bhauma-rajya)*. He has given me the strength to crush

the Moslems whose shelter you have sought. How can you succeed against me, and how can you save the Moslems."[164]

In another letter to Maloji Ghorpade, Shivaji expresses similar ambitions: "I have formed a league of all Maratha chiefs with the object of preserving their estates, in order that we should be masters in our own home: that we should preserve or destroy Moslem kingdoms at our pleasure. All this effort is directed towards bringing all the Marathas together and making them strong. Why are you so much in love with the foreign Bijapur kingdom? It is already reduced to dust. What can the Bijapur king give you and why do you parade your loyalty to a Moslem king? That Pathan is not going to benefit you in any way. We Marathas have already swallowed them up. You must remember that you are a Maratha, and that my object is to unite and raise you all into a strong nation."[165]

This does not mean, of course, that he wanted to be crowned Emperor of Delhi at once; as long as Aurangzeb lived this was impossible. His idea was ultimately to establish a Hindu empire for all India, expanding it gradually from its original base in the Deccan.

Shivaji started his preparation for national liberation in the mountain valleys of the Poona district. He won over the rugged Mavlis and made three particular friends, Esaji Kanka, Baji Phasalkar and Tanaji Malusre to whom he confided his ambitions. In the Poona *jagir* of his father, whose management had devolved upon him after his return from Bijapur, there were four natural strongholds giving their possessors control over the surrounding country. These were Kondana (afterwards the famous Sinhagad) overlooking Poona, Torna, and the forts of Chakan and Purandhar. Muhammad 'Adil Shah, the King of Bijapur, to whom these forts belonged, had neglected them; Shivaji seized them without much difficulty in 1646.

He continued to extend his dominions. By 1655 there was practically no independent chief left in the central Deccan who did not acknowledge Shivaji's sovereignty. North of Kolhapur Bijapur's authority was almost extinct. Realizing that he had to subdue Shivaji, 'Adil Shah of Bijapur sent a strong army against him under the command of the famous officer Afzal Khan. The story of Shivaji's duplicity on this occasion is well-known. He secretly established contact with Gopinath Pant, a Brahman in the employ of Afzal Khan. He implored Gopinath Pant as a Brahman and a Hindu to be true to his country and his gods and to "help him punish the defiler of temples and slayer of kine." He was fighting, Shivaji went on "for Hinduism and for India, at the behest of Bhavani herself," and he added a handsome present in

return for Gopinath Pant's help.[166] It was difficult for a Brahman to resist an appeal couched in these terms and Gopinath yielded. He persuaded Afzal Khan to meet in a private interview with Shivaji at which both appeared armed only with a sword and attended by a single follower. Shivaji, however, wore armour beneath his clothes and concealed in his left hand the weapon known as the *waghanka*. Closely resembling the claws of a tiger, it consisted of four curved claws of steel attached to the first and fourth fingers, beneath which they were hidden by rings. While embracing Afzal Khan, Shivaji ripped open his belly with the claws and at once stabbed him with his dagger. The Maratha troops sprang from their concealment on the unsuspecting army of Bijapur and overpowered and dispersed it without difficulty.[167]

Shortly after the death of his father, who had effected a truce between him and the King of Bijapur, Shivaji assumed the title of raja at Raigarh, and struck coins in his own name. He continued to pillage both by land and by sea, until he learned that a Moghul force was preparing to attack him. Aurangzeb's temper had finally been aroused by Shivaji's plundering of pilgrims on their way to Mecca.[168]

The emperor sent a Hindu general, Raja Jai Singh, to chastise Shivaji. The general, however, was at once won over by Shivaji. A letter in Hindi verse, supposedly written by Shivaji to Jai Singh, has been published by Babu Jagannath Das in the *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*. It mentions Shivaji's objects in clear and emphatic terms. "Even if the authority of the letter be questioned," argues the Maratha historian, Govind Sakharam Sardesai, "it gives a faithful idea of what the general impression of the society of the time was, as regards the move undertaken by Shivaji."[169]

"O Great King, though you are a great Kshatriya, you have been using your strength to increase the power of the dynasty of Babur. You are shedding the blood of the Hindus in order to make the red-faced Moslems victorious. Do you not realize that you are thereby blackening your reputation before the whole world? If you have come to conquer me, I am ready to lay down my head in your path; but since you come as the deputy of the emperor, I am utterly at a loss to decide how I should behave towards you. If you fight on behalf of the Hindu religion, I am ready to join and help you. You are brave and valiant, and it behooves you as a powerful Hindu prince to take the lead against the emperor. Let us go and conquer Delhi itself. Let us shed our costly blood to preserve our ancient religion and give

satisfaction to our thirsty ancestors. I bear no enmity to you and do not wish to fight with you." [170]

Raja Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji to go to Delhi to obtain better terms from the emperor. Through the influence he brought to bear at court, Jai Singh obtained the promise of safe conduct for Shivaji. Accordingly, Shivaji, accompanied by his eldest son Shambhaji, set out for Delhi at the beginning of March, 1666. At court he was placed among the *panj-hāzarīs* (commanders of five thousand men). Shivaji expressed his disapproval at this placement so openly that it came to the emperor's ears and he was forbidden to attend the court.[171] Guards were stationed at his house and Shivaji suddenly found himself a prisoner.

He devised an ingenious plan to escape, feigning fever and remaining in his bed for several days. During this time he started sending huge baskets of candy to various courtiers to be distributed among beggars at mosques and temples. One day an attendant saw him apparently asleep as usual covered with a blanket; a *toora* (chaplet of pearls) was plainly evident. However it was in reality Hiraji Pharjand, a faithful follower, who had consented to take his place. Shivaji and his son Shambhaji had been smuggled out in the baskets probably aided by Ram Singh, the son of Jai Singh, and were riding for their lives to the Deccan.[172]

In an incredibly short time the news of Shivaji's escape spread all over the Deccan. The Marathas greatly rejoiced at the return of their beloved leader. He returned, however, to a greatly diminished realm consisting only of Poona and the Supa and Chakan districts. In a short time he recovered all the lost forts from the imperial forces. Meanwhile, the kingdom of Bijapur was plunged into confusion by the death of its monarch 'Adil Shah, on December 15, 1672. By the summer of 1674 the Bijapur troops were driven back to the walls of their capital and the Marathas were in possession of the country as far as Miraj. Soon after regaining control over his newly enlarged dominions Shivaji was crowned and declared himself to be an anointed *Kshatriya-Kshatriya Kulavtansa Sri Raja Shiva Chhatraputi.*[173]

During the next few years there was a lull in military operations. Worn out and tired, Shivaji conducted only a few raids and generally contented himself with measures designed to secure his conquests. His court and later his son's court became the rallying points of the opposition to the Moslems. On April 5, 1680, when he was not quite fifty-three years of age a sudden illness put an end to his extraordinary career. On the date of his death the court chronicler, Khafi Khan,

remarked *Kafir ba jahannam raft* (the infidel went to Hell.)[174] Notwithstanding this uncharitable chronogram Shivaji must be considered a great Hindu leader. He was inspired by the ideal of service to the Hindu nation and fully deserves the continued admiration of his compatriots and co-religionists.

At the time of his death Shivaji's kingdom included all the territory (except the Portuguese possessions) stretching from Ramnagar in the north to Karwar or the Gangavati river in the Bombay district of Kanara in the south. The eastern boundary included Baglona in the north then followed an irregular shifting line through the middle of the Nasik and Poona districts encompassing the whole of Satara and much of the Kolhapur districts. A later but permanent acquisition was the western Karnatak (or Kanarese-speaking country) extending from Belgaum to the bank of Tungabhadra opposite the Bellary district of the Madras presidency.[175] In these districts the Hindus established their own *swarajya* (independent state), of which they were rightly proud. Shivaji's true achievements are described by Sir Jadunath Sarkar:

"Shivaji was the first to challenge Bijapur and Delhi and thus teach his countrymen that it was possible for them to be independent leaders in war. Then he founded a state and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a state, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defense; they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry. They can maintain navies and ocean trading fleets of their own and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth."[176]

Discussing the role of Shivaji in the growth of Hindu nationalism, Jawaharlal Nehru also pays a glowing tribute to the Maratha leader: "Shivaji was the symbol of a resurgent Hindu nationalism, drawing inspiration from the old classics, courageous, and possessing high qualities of leadership. He built up the Marathas as a strong unified fighting group, gave them a nationalistic background, and made them a formidable power which broke up the Moghul Empire."[177]

The Emperor's Policies vis-a-vis the Maratha and Deccani States. Shambhaji, Shivaji's son, carried on the aggressive policy of his father. Emperor Aurangzeb realized for the first time what danger the Marathas presented to the stability of his empire when his own son Akbar rebelled and sought refuge with Shambhaji. The Marathas

whom he had considered highway barons were now established rulers, giving help to his enemies.

He decided to cut off Shambhaji's funds by destroying the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur, which paid tribute to the Marathas. Ever since Emperor Akbar had invaded the Bahamani kingdoms of the Deccan, the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur, which had remained independent, looked upon the policies of the Delhi emperors with suspicion. This suspicion was, of course, further strengthened by the invasions of Shah Jahan. To counter-balance the Moghul power, these petty Moslem states supported whatever anti-Moghul power existed in the south.

The emperor came to the south in November, 1681, personally to conduct the campaigns against Shambhaji. He wrote a friendly letter to the Bijapur government asking them to assist him and not to co-operate with the Marathas. However, the emperor repeatedly received clear proofs that the Marathas were getting help from the Bijapuri king. On November 13, 1683, the emperor arrived at Ahmadnagar and began a vigorous campaign against Bijapur. On September 12, 1686 the monarchy fell, the emperor annexed the territory to the empire, and the Bijapuri officers were taken into Moghul service.

After disposing of the affairs in Bijapur, the emperor turned his attention to Golkonda, whose king, 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah had also followed a pro-Maratha policy, sustaining his kingdom against imperial threats by skillful diplomacy. But the king died at a very critical moment (April 21, 1672) and at once there arose a dispute for the succession. After some confusion and fighting Abu-l Hasan was crowned king and Saiyyad Muzaffar became his prime minister.[178] However the minister's tendency to usurp too much power caused the king to rely on Madana, a Hindu. Madana corrupted most of Muzaffar's followers, so that one day he was quietly deprived of his wazīrship, which was conferred on Madana, with the title of *Surya Prakash Rao.* The change of ministers took place in 1673 and Madana's rule continued until his assassination in 1686 on the eve of the fall of the kingdom. Madana's brother Akhanna became commander-in-chief, and his nephew, the gallant Yengana Surnamel Rustan Rao, was given a high command. He followed a pro-Maratha policy, giving Shivaji a royal welcome on his visit to Hyderabad in 1677 and promising him a regular subsidy. After Shivaji's death the alliance was renewed with his successor and the subsidy continued.

Morever the king gave active help to Bijapur during its siege. This brought his quarrel with the Moghuls to a head and sealed his

fate. The emperor wrote to his envoy at the Golkonda court: "this luckless wretch [i.e. Abu-l Hasan Qutb Shah] has given the supreme power in his state to a *kafir* [infidel] and made saiyyads and scholars subject to that man. He has publicly allowed in his realm all kinds of sin and vice, viz. taverns, brothels and gambling houses. He himself is day and night sunk in the deadly sins, through his excessive devotion to drink, and fails to distinguish between Islam and infidelity, justice and aggression, sin and piety. By refusing to respect God's command, and by promising 100,000 guns to the *kafir* Shambhaji, he has made himself accursed before God and man."[179] Since Abu-l Hasan refused to renounce his alliance with Shambhaji, emperor Aurangzeb attacked Golkonda and captured the city of Hyderabad in the beginning of October, 1685. The territories of the Golkonda kingdom were annexed to the empire in 1687.

While Aurangzeb was directing the full strength of his empire against Bijapur and Golkonda, Shambhaji made no adequate effort to meet the danger that threatened all the Deccani powers. His soldiers raided the Moghul territory, but did not appreciably influence the military situation. Aurangzeb tolerated these pin-pricks since he knew that he would be able to destroy Shambhaji after defeating Bijapur and Golkonda. In November 1686 the emperor attacked the Marathas. After a few battles Shambhaji was defeated and captured. The news of the capture soon reached the imperial camp and caused wild rejoicing. The Moslems throughout India were exultant; a great terror had been lifted from their hearts.

The Moslem theologians pronounced that Shambhaji should be put to death for having "slain, captured, and dishonored Moslems and plundered the cities of Islam." The emperor consented to his death.[180] Shambhaji's family including his son Shahu and his brother Rajaram were taken to Delhi as prisoners. Aurangzeb had realized his heart's desire to crush the house of Shivaji, but fifty years of war against the Sikhs and Hindus in northern and southern India had let loose a nationalistic upsurge among them similar to that produced by the Napoleonic wars in Europe. The life and property of the Moslems were no longer safe amidst the Hindu population; Hindus were thirsty for Moslem blood.

During the last days of his life Aurangzeb seemed to have been painfully aware of the danger to the Moslems. He realized that the *modus vivendi* achieved between the Hindus and Moslems in the days of Akbar had ceased to work.

In a letter to his favorite son Kam Bakhsh, he wrote, "soul of my

soul . . . Now I am going alone. I grieve for your helplessness. But what is the use? Every torment I have inflicted, every sin I have committed, every wrong I have done, I carry the consequences with me. Wherever I look I see only God. I have greatly sinned, and I know not what torment awaits me . . . Let not Moslems be slain and reproach fall upon my useless head. I commit you and your sons to God's care. I am sorely troubled." [181]

On March 4, 1707, in the fiftieth year of his rule and the eighty-ninth year of his life, Emperor Aurangzeb died. He left behind in the Indian sub-continent not only his own nation of Moslems, who had from the beginning been a separate cultural and political entity, but two other potential nations, the Hindus and the Sikhs. All of them struggled for hegemony in the eighteenth century.

Chapter IV

DISINTEGRATION OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE AND DECAY OF MOSLEM SOCIETY

After the death of Emperor Aurangzeb the political power of the empire declined and Moslem society gradually disintegrated. However, when the Moslem nobility relinquished its traditional leadership, the *'ulamā'* (religious leaders) once again emerged from their cloisters to play a guiding role. The role of the *'ulamā'* cannot be properly understood unless we know the extent of the socio-political degeneration of the leading Moslem classes.

Aurangzeb left a will with directions for his burial and the partition of the empire between his three sons—Bahadur Shah, Azam Shah and Kam Bakhsh. Although a well-read man, Aurangzeb apparently had forgotten the verses in Shaikh S'adi Shirazī's *Gūlistān* every schoolboy knew. "Ten poor men can sleep comfortably under one blanket, while two kings cannot be contained within one kingdom." How could three swords be kept in one scabbard? In his will Aurangzeb entreated Bahadur Shah and Azam Shah to leave Kam Bakhsh unmolested as long as he contented himself with the two new provinces of Bijapur and Hyderabad, and to continue Amīr-ul-Umrā Asad Khan in his position as *wazīr*. Azam Shah was given Agra, the province belonging to it, the Deccan *sūbāhs*, Malwa, Shamsabad and Gujrat. Bahadur Shah was given the city of Delhi, the country of Kabul, and all of the remaining provinces. Thus Bahadur Shah received twelve, Azam Shah six and Kam Bakhsh two provinces of the Moghul empire.[1]

Obviously there was no balance of power between the three brothers and a bloody civil war ensued from which Bahadur Shah emerged victorious; he was proclaimed Emperor of India in 1707. His reign was characterized by leniency towards the descendants of his rivals and all subjects. His fault was an excess of generosity and an inability to refuse anyone's request. This habit became so notorious that a wit coined the phrase *shah-i-be-khabar* (1119 A.H./1707 A.D.), meaning "the unheeding king," as the chronogram of his accession.[2]

Bahadur Shah continued his father's policy towards the Hindus. The provincial governors were all Moslem and no Hindu held an

important position at court. Hindu nationalism had been by no means crushed by the extirpation of Shivaji's successor, Shambhaji. After Aurangzeb's death Shahu and Rajaram were released. A promise was obtained from Shahu that if he ever succeeded in establishing his authority over the Maratha state he would continue to be steadfast in allegiance to the Moghul emperor. The new emperor promised in return to give him certain territories.

Acting as regent for his nephew Shahu, Rajaram became the chief symbol of Maratha power. With the aid of several well-trained and efficient officers, including Pralhad Niraji, Raghunath Pant Hanumante, Nilo Moreshwar, Ramchandra Pant Amatya, Pharsuram Trimbak, Shankraji Mulhar and some others he rescued the Hindu state from ruin.[3] They soon obtained possession of Satara, where Shahu was enthroned in January, 1708.[4] The next ten years witnessed the growth of Maratha power and the simultaneous decline of the Moslem rule in Delhi. The factors that shifted the balance of power in such a short period can be explained primarily by the decay and disintegration of Moslem society.

During his five-year reign, Bahadur Shah also had to fight the Sikhs whose hostility continued unabated after the assassination of Guru Gobind Singh. Guru Gobind's family and followers brought forward a new leader who resembled the deceased to an extraordinary degree. It is not very clear who this man was; he is generally spoken of either "as Bandah (the slave), or as the False *Guru*."[5] Letters were written to the faithful informing them that their *Guru* had been slain in the emperor's camp by the dagger of a Moslem, but that their leader had announced before his death that he would reappear again in a short time through the power of transmigration. The Sikhs were to follow him in his new incarnation, and thus secure prosperity in this world and salvation in the next. Immediate collections of cash and goods were made.

Bandah made his way to the foot of the hills northeast of Sirhind, where Gobind Singh early in life had taken shelter. He had forty thousand armed men gathered around him recruited chiefly from the lower Hindu castes.[6] Bandah's chief object was to attack Wazīr Khan, the murderer of Gobind's children and still the governor of Sirhind. He attacked Sirhind without any warning on May 22, 1710. Wazīr Khan, then fully eighty years of age, made no attempt to escape but tried to rally his men. He was killed by a musket shot on the battlefield. The Sikhs captured his body, dishonored it and then hung it on a tree.

Alarm spread through the streets of Sirhind, an old and prosperous town, inhabited by wealthy bankers and traders and many well-born Moslems of the learned class. The town was taken after a feeble defense of two days. For four days the town was given up to pillage, the mosques were defiled, the houses burnt and the Moslems including women and children slaughtered. Unborn children were taken from the womb and killed before their dying mothers' eyes. Hindus who had collaborated with the Moslems were equally ill-treated.[7]

The atrocities of Bandah and his agents aroused horror in the breasts of the Moslems. A contemporary, Warīd, compared them to the cruelties committed by the Pharoah upon the children of Israel or to the massacres that followed the fall of Jerusalem. In those two instances, though the living were destroyed, the dead were spared, but the Sikhs did not even spare the dead. The descendants of Shah Faiz Qadiri of Sadhaura, were summoned before Bandah and told that their only chance of life lay in destroying with their own hands their mosques and the tomb of their ancestor; the wretched men complied. Thereupon Bandah declared that it would be a righteous act to sweep from the face of the earth men who condescended to destroy their holy places. He then directed that they be tortured and executed.[8]

From Sirhind, Bandah sent out parties to occupy the country to the south, the east and the west. Nearly the whole of Sirkar Sirhind (of *Sūbāh* Delhi) was occupied. Every mosque was demolished. All *parganas* in the north of Sirkar Sirkind between the Satlaj and the Jamuna fell into the possession of the Sikhs. In every occupied territory the Sikhs completely reversed the existing social and political order. A scavenger or leather-dresser, the lowest of the low in Hindu estimation, had only to leave home and join the false *Guru*. Within a short space of time he would return to his birthplace with an order of appointment as its ruler in his hand. Upon his arrival the well-born and wealthy would go out to greet him and escort him home. A scavenger, from the nature of his duties, is intimately acquainted with the condition of every household. Thus, the new ruler would have no difficulty in exacting from everyone his most valuable belongings and confiscating them for Bandah or for his own treasury. Hindus who did not join the sect were not exempt from these oppressions.[9]

Bandah entrenched himself at Lohagarh and assumed a quasi-regal status. He was the *Sacha Padshah* (Veritable Sovereign); his disciples were *singhs or lions*. A new form of greeting *fath daras* (may you behold victory) was introduced. Moslems were *Muslah*, a deroga-

tory name that is still used by Sikhs today. Coins were struck in the new sovereign's name bearing verses by Bandah in Persian, the literary and official language of the day. On his letters he impressed a seal bearing the following inscription:

"Guru Gobind Singh found in Nanak, sword, pot, and conquest, help without hinderance or delay." [10]

The words were also engraved by the Sikhs on the coins they struck at Lahore in 1765 after having established a Sikh state in the Punjab.[11] Judging by these halting and crude verses, Bandah was a better warrior than poet. Not content with political power, Bandah also tried to subdue grammar. He ordered all nouns with feminine terminations in Urdu, Hindi and Persian changed into the masculine form. For instance, *sawari* (a retinue) and *kachahari* (a court house) were pronounced by him and the Sikhs *sawāra* and *kachāharā*.[12]

In December 1710 Bahadur Shah's forces defeated Bandah. Rustam Dil Khan, one of the imperial commanders, brought the spoils and prisoners to Delhi, including a certain Gūlabū Khatri who had passed himself off as Bandah, thus facilitating the real Bandah's escape. As a court chronicler said, "the hawk had flown and the owl was netted."[13] Another contemporary historian, Khafi Khan, comments on the zeal and self-sacrificing spirit shown by Bandah's Sikhs[14] in contrast to the imperial armies where only five or ten percent of the soldiers were prepared to fight to the death.

The hunt for Bandah continued unabated though the quarry had left no trace behind. On January 22, 1712, Muhammad Amīn Khan, the imperial commander sent a letter reporting a severe fight with the Sikhs and with it five hundred heads. However, Bahadur Shah died a month later on February 27, 1712 and Bandah promptly took the opportunity to regain possession of the town of Sadhaura and repair the fort of Lohagarh.

With Bahadur Shah's death the empire fell into the hands of degenerate and worthless puppets. There was no capable successor. Bahadur Shah had neglected to send his sons as governors to distant provinces. Instead he had kept them in attendance on his person, which perhaps gave him peace of mind, but it eliminated their chance of gaining administrative experience. At once civil war broke out, costing the lives of veteran generals, commanders and civil administrators. Bahadur Shah's eldest son Jahandar Shah, after defeating and slaying his brothers enthroned himself as sovereign of India on March 29, 1712. His nephew Farrukhsiyar left Bengal with the intention of contesting the emperor's right to the throne. Jahandar Shah

treated the challenge as insignificant and sent his son A'zz-ud-Din to face Farrukhsiyar. Meanwhile the emperor spent his time in dissipation while Delhi fell under the "dominion of the Lord of Misrule."[15]

The emperor fell in love with Lal Kunwar, a common dancing girl. She was dignified with the title of *Imtiaz Mahal* (Chosen of the Palace) and immense treasures were made over to her. Her entire family was ennobled, including her father, brothers, and brothers-in-law. Her brother Ni'māt Khan Kalawānt[16] was to be appointed governor to the province of Multan according to the emperor's wish.[17] However the *wazīr* (prime minister) procrastinated and delayed issuing the order. The nominee finally presented himself to the *wazīr* and asked why he had not been appointed. The *wazīr* replied with all gravity that it was well-known that no appointment was ever made by his administration without a fee in cash. As he wished to be obliging he would not ask for cash, but he would take instead one thousand *tanbūrs* (a long necked guitar). The stupid fellow, not seeing the ironical nature of this reply, worked very hard and within a week sent two hundred guitars. The *wazīr* insisted upon full delivery; Ni'māt Khan complained of the excessive bribe to the emperor who asked the *wazīr* why he wanted so many guitars. The answer was that since musicians were sent to govern provinces, nobles must discard their weapons and learn to play the guitar. This remonstrance induced Jahandar Shah to cancel the appointment.[18]

In defiance of etiquette, Jahandar Shah and his concubine often visited the markets together seated in a carriage and made such purchases as took their fancy. One night, after a day spent in debauchery and in visits to various gardens around Delhi, they entered the house of a spirit vendor, a friend of Lal Kunwar. There they drank until they were intoxicated. When they left the woman was rewarded with a sum of money and a grant of the revenue of a village. During their journey home they both fell asleep and on reaching the palace Lal Kunwar was taken out by her servants and carried into her room. The driver of the carriage, who had also shared in the carousel, left it at the stable without inspecting it. The emperor's absence began to alarm the officers of the palace. He was not found in Lal Kunwar's apartments and on her instruction the carriage was examined. There the emperor was fast asleep, nearly two miles from the palace.[19]

In company with Lal Kunwar, Jahandar Shah bathed naked every Sunday in the pool at the shrine of Shaikh Nasīr-ud-Din Āudhī, commonly called the Chirag-i-Delhi, in the hope that his saintly inter-

cession might bless them with children. Such breaches of decorum soon corrupted the ministers of the court. Zūl-Fiqār Khan, the *wazīr*, imitated his master's example and left his duties to a favorite Hindu subordinate, Sabha Chand, a man whose harshness and bad temper were notorious. Partisans as well as opponents became dissatisfied with the affairs of state.

Thus matters stood when Farrukhsiyar challenged Jahandar Shah's right to the Delhi throne. Farrukhsiyar tried to enlist the powerful nobles of the realm on his side. Most of the *khans* were disinclined to take up the prince's cause, except for two famous brothers, Hasan Ali Khan (generally known by his title 'Abdullāh Khan), and Husain Ali Khan, Saiyyads of Barah, who owed to Farrukhsiyar's father their positions as governors of Allahabad and Bihar. But even they did not readily join the prince. Farrukhsiyar's mother hazarded a private visit to Husain Ali's mother at Bihar taking with her a little granddaughter. She argued that the Saiyyads owed their positions to the kindness of her husband and that Husain Ali Khan should either aid Farrukhsiyar to recover his "rights" and avenge his father's death or he should place the prince in chains and send him to Jahandar Shah. Farrukhsiyar's mother and daughter uncovered their heads and wept aloud. Overcome by their tears, Husain Ali's mother called her son within the *harem*. The little princess fell bareheaded at his feet and implored his aid. Finally the *Saiyyadah* exclaimed: "If you adhere to Jahandar Shah you will have to answer before the Great Judge for disavowing your mother's claims on you."

Saiyyad Husain Ali Khan bound himself to fight on Farrukhsiyar's behalf. He wrote at once to his brother 'Abdullāh Khan at Allahabad, asking him to join Farrukhsiyar's cause. The two chief positions in the empire, those of chief minister and first noble were formally promised to the two brothers as their reward in case of success.[30] In addition Farrukhsiyar authorized the spending of the Bengal treasure, then at Allahabad, on the enlistment of troops.

Jahandar Shah lost the battle to Farrukhsiyar at Agra on January 10, 1713, after having reigned less than a year. A month later he lost his life by order of the new emperor. Saiyyad 'Abdullāh Khan became chief minister and Saiyyad Husain Ali Khan first *Bakhshi*. The provincial governments were apportioned among the Tūranī and Indian-born Moslem *umarā* (nobles). The supreme control of the Deccan was given to Chin Qilich Khan, who on this occasion was created *Nizām-ul-Mūlk*, with his headquarters fixed at Aurangabad. The Saiyyad brothers are generally accused of grasping all offices for

themselves and their friends, to the exclusion of everybody else. However, in addition to the two offices which were the price of their services, they seem to have received very little else except the government of two *sūbāhs* for themselves and one for an uncle. The Tūranī chiefs and the emperor's friends obtained the lion's share.[21]

Within a short time Emperor Farrukhsiyar was reduced to a puppet in the hands of the Saiyyad brothers. For a while amity was preserved but soon they quarreled over appointments to important offices and the appropriation of the confiscated wealth of Jahandar Shah's nobles. Moreover Farrukhsiyar heard of a prophecy that after Bahadur Shah's death his youngest descendant would rule and that he would in turn be followed by a Saiyyad. Being as superstitious as most of his contemporaries Farrukhsiyar began to show openly ill feelings towards the two Saiyyad brothers.[22]

In order to prove the prophecy false the emperor resolved to blind the more prominent and energetic members of the royal family who were being held in captivity in the palace. On January 21, 1714, three of the princes, Azz-ud-Din, eldest son of Jahandar Shah, Wala Tabar, the son of Azam Shah, and Farrukhsiyar's own younger brother, Humayun Bakht (the latter two were only ten and twelve years old) were blinded. They were thus rendered incapable of ever becoming rivals for the throne.[23]

Foreign and Indian Born Moslem Parties at the Court. In order to check the influence of the Saiyyads Farrukhsiyar started to play the Tūranī nobles off against the two brothers. This policy split Moslem society into two camps: the foreign born and Indian born. They both short-sightedly considered their interests diametrically opposed and acted towards one another as foes.

Since the terms Moghul, Tūranī, and Irani appear so frequently in our narrative and since so much turns upon their relations a few words of explanation are indicated.

Foreign-born Moslems had always formed the backbone of the imperial army. Their number increased considerably during the years 1680 to 1707 when Aurangzeb waged his wars against the Hindu rajas in Rajputana and the Deccan. These foreigners, or at least a great number of them were either Pathans or Moghuls; if the latter they were known as either Tūranī or Irani Moghuls. Although not an accurate application of the term Moghul it was nevertheless employed by the writers of the period, who considered everyone from beyond the Oxus or from any of the provinces of the Persian Empire a Moghul.

If a man was from Tūrān, north of the Oxus, he was a Türanī, if south of it, in the region of Iran, he was an Irani. The Tūranīs were of the Sunni sect, the prevalent belief of the Moslems in India, and came from the old home of the reigning dynasty. For these reasons they were highly favored by the Moghul emperors and owing to their great numbers and the military and civic ability of their leaders, they formed a very powerful body both in the army and in the state generally.

The Iranis were Shi'as and less numerous, yet they included men of high birth and great ability who attained some of the highest positions. Shiraz in the Persian province of Fars furnished the largest number of these Iranis. Most of the best physicians, poets and legal experts came from that city. Owing to sectarian differences there was a feeling of animosity between the Tūranīs and the Iranis; yet at the same time the two groups were always ready to combine against the Indian born Moslems.

Men from the region between the Indus on the east and Kabul on the West were called Pathans. Those from the nearer hills southwest of Peshawar were sometimes distinguished by the epithet *Rohela* (hillman). The part of the Pathan country lying nearest the Indus furnished the majority of the Pathan soldiers. Due to their comparative nearness to Delhi they probably outnumbered the Moghul. In any case they seem to have had a talent for forming permanent settlements. All over India Pathan villages are numerous to this very day. However, the Pathans, in spite of their numbers and their hold on the land, played a very small part in the political events of the middle eighteenth century until Ali Mohammad Khan Daudzai established himself as a ruler in Bareli and Muhammad Khan Bangash did the same in Farrukhabad.[24] When Aurangzeb began his campaign in the Deccan the Pathans were much prized as valiant soldiers by the emperor.

In opposition to the Moghul or foreign was the home-born or Hindūstanī party. It was made up of Moslems born in India, many of whom were descended in the second or third generation from foreign immigrants. Men like the Saiyyads of Barah, for instance, whose ancestors had settled in India many generations before came under the derogatory description of *Hindūstan-zā* (Indian born).[25] To this class belonged also all the Rajputs and Jāt chiefs and other powerful Hindu landowners. The very numerous and industrious Hindus who filled the subordinate offices of a civil nature attached themselves as clients to the Moslem leaders of the Hindūstanī party and enjoyed

political and economic benefits as the result of frequent clashes between the Indian and foreign born Moslems. For instance 'Abdullāh Khan, the chief minister, much to the disgust and resentment of foreign born Moslems left the management of both his immense household and his high office to his Hindu agent Dīwān Ratan Chand. For a while Ratan Chand "enjoyed an uncontrolled influence all over the Empire of Hindustan." [26] The Hindūstanī Party also comprised many Kashmiri Moslems, who were secretaries and men of business.

The favorite of the Hindūstanī Party was Samsam-ud-Daulah Khan Dauran Mansūr Jāng Khawja 'Asim (1672-1738) whose ancestors had emigrated from a village in Badakhshan (Iran) and taken up residence in Agra. Khan Dauran's intimacy with Emperor Farrukhsiyar was based on their common participation in wrestling, archery, riding, polo and other war-like exercises. Khan Dauran was the perfect type of courtier and until his death in 1738 he retained his position at Court regardless of who was in power. He is described as a man of smooth plausible speech with no learning and little knowledge of Persian, prefixing to every sentence the catchword *Mera Sahib* (my good sir). To conceal his limited acquaintance with Persian he used to speak in elegant Urdu so that he might charm his hearers and prevent their noticing his defective scholarship. Particularly to annoy those Moslems who still retained Persian as their spoken language, he used to say that for a man born in India to attempt to speak Persian was to make himself ridiculous. But he could quote occasionally with good effect Persian couplets or proverbs.

Khan Dauran might indeed have qualified as a member of a peace society, for whenever the subject was broached he would ask, "what is to be gained by going to war?" He was one of those men, never absent from courts, who do absolutely nothing either in war or in peace as a return for the rank and wealth which have been showered upon them. His hand was in every intrigue and never without profit to himself. Throughout his career he favored the Hindūstanī party in the state, being the person through whom Jāt or Rajput chiefs put forward any claims they might have wished to advance.[27]

The Tūranī party produced some very capable men but almost all of them were self-seekers. With the exception of Chin Qilich Khan, now generally known by his title of *Nizām-ul-Mūlk*, none cared for the welfare of the state. The leader of the Tūranī party was I'timād-ud-Daulah Muhammud Amīn Khan Bahadur Nūsrāt Jāng. He was a native of Samarqand in the Emirate of Bukhara (now part of the Soviet Union). His grandfather, 'Alam Shaikh, had two sons, Khawja

'Abid and Mīr Baha-ud-Din. The elder son came to India and was the father of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Firūz Jāng, who achieved prominence in Aurangzeb's court. The second son, Mīr Baha-ud-Din was Muhammad Amīn's father. He entered the service of the ruler of Bukhara but was subsequently executed by him on suspicion of complicity with the amīr's rebellious son. This event took place in 1686-7, when Muhammad Amīn must have been about twenty-five years of age. He escaped to India and was favorably received by Aurangzeb who was then in the Deccan. Aurangzeb sent him to serve with his cousin Firūz Jāng. In 1697-8, when Aurangzeb was anxious to find among the Tūranīs a counterweight to Asad Khan, the *wazīr*, and his son Zūl-Fiqār Khan, Muhammad Amīn was brought to the court and made *Sadr* (head of the charitable endowments). He actually rose to prominence in the reign of Farrukhsiyar. Muhammad Amīn was present in Jahandar Shah's ranks at Agra but gave no substantial support to the ill-fated emperor. Farrukhsiyar rewarded this betrayal by appointing him second *Bakhshi* of the empire. After the death of Firūz Jāng in 1710-11 he became the acknowledged leader of the Tūranī party and Tūranī soldiery. His cousin Chin Qilich Khan Nizām-ul-Mūlk, son of Firūz Jāng, was about ten years his junior.

Perhaps the most important person in the group of men who rose to top rank upon Farrukhsiyar's accession was Nizām-ul-Mūlk, who was already a distinguished soldier and provincial governor. Hitherto he had been overshadowed by his cousin and his father, Ghazin-ud-Din Khan Firūz Jāng, who had died only two years before. In 1713 Farrukhsiyar appointed Nizām-ul-Mūlk to the six *sūbāhs* of the Deccan and he thus rose to a position of pre-eminence which he retained until his death in 1748.

Towards the end of Jahandar Shah's short reign Nizām-ul-Mūlk had been appointed to the defense of Agra. He and his cousin were brought over to Farrukhsiyar's side through Shari'at-ullāh Khan (Mīr Jūmlāh), another Tūranī leader. In reality Nizām-ul-Mūlk's appointment to the province of Deccan was a reward for his betrayal of Jahandar Shah.[28] Nizām-ul-Mūlk had cherished secret projects in regard to the Deccan ever since the death of Aurangzeb. During Aurangzeb's Deccan campaigns he must have seen that they offered a splendid opportunity for acquiring partial or perhaps even total independence of Delhi. He had held the six *sūbāhs* of the Deccan for hardly more than two years when he was superseded by Husain Ali Khan, the brother of the chief minister.

The appointment of Husain Ali Khan to the Deccan in March

1716 was the result of a series of court intrigues. The chief minister agreed to send his brother away from the capital on the condition that Mīr Jūmlāh, a Tūrānī favorite of the emperor who was continually involved in intrigues against the Saiyyad brothers, be sent to Azimabad as governor. The differences between the Tūrānī party and the Hindūstanī party, led by the Saiyyad brothers, had become irreconcilable. Farrukhsiyar had cast his lot with the Tūrānīs, and it was quite evident that one of the parties must fall. Farrukhsiyar unwisely was jeopardizing his throne and personal security in the struggle for power between the foreign-born and Indian-born Moslem parties. However, in order to understand the ramifications of the struggle it will be necessary to describe the fate of Bandah, the False *Guru* and his Sikhs and also the development of the Maratha state in the Deccan.

In January, 1713 Farrukhsiyar abolished *jizya,* which had been levied for thirty-four years. This act of political wisdom came too late to mitigate the Sikh hatred for the Moslems. On April 17, 1715 reports reached Delhi that Bandah had entrenched himself in an earthen fort at Gurdaspur after plundering the town of Batala. While the Sikh leader was endeavoring to strengthen his defenses and increase his store of supplies, 'Abdūs Samad Khan, the governor of Lahore, along with his son Zakariya Khan and an imperial commander called Qamr-ud-Din Khan, attacked the fort.

The siege was so severe and prolonged that when the Sikhs' supplies ran out they slaughtered their animals and, not having any firewood, ate them raw. People began to pick up and eat whatever they could find. When all the grass was gone, they gathered the leaves from the trees. When these were consumed they stripped the bark and broke off small tree shoots, ground them and used them instead of flour. They also collected the bones of animals and prepared them in the same way.[29] Many died of dysentery and privation.

When all food supplies were exhausted and the smell of putrid bodies of men and animals made the place unbearable, Bandah surrendered unconditionally to 'Abdūs Samad Khan on December 17, 1715. He and his men were taken prisoner and sent to Delhi in the charge of Zakariya Khan and Qamr-ud-Din Khan. They entered the capital on March 10, 1716. The streets were so crowded with spectators that it was difficult to pass. The Moslems could hardly contain themselves for joy. Those Hindus of Delhi who surreptitiously believed in Bandah and considered themselves his disciples asked Muhammad Amīn Khan and other lords of the court to intercede with the emperor for the life of Bandah, offering a large ransom.[30]

With the exception of between twenty and thirty of the chief men who were sent to prison with Bandah, the prisoners were sent for execution to Sarbarah Khan, the city *kotwal* or head of the police. The executions took place at the Chabūtrā (raised platform) in front of the police station, on March 15, 1716. One hundred disciples of Bandah were executed every day for a week. All observers noticed the wonderful patience and resolution with which these men underwent their fate. Their attachment and devotion to their leader was remarkable to behold. They called the execution *Mukti*, or Deliverance.[81] Bandah was executed on June 19, 1716.[82]

Meanwhile new intrigues were being hatched at the court of Farrukhsiyar. The emperor decided to seize 'Abdullāh Khan in the *'Idgāh* (mosque for *'Id* prayers) on the day of the *'Id* (August 27, 1718) in order to undermine completely the chief minister's influence. Spies had warned 'Abdullāh Khan of this plot and he redoubled his precautions to foil this design on his life. In September, 1718, Mīr Jūmlāh returned from his province to the court. As soon as 'Abdullāh Khan learned this he realized that the emperor was determined to have his life and that he needed another Tūrānī favorite at the court in order to strengthen his position. 'Abdullāh Khan wrote a letter to his brother, requesting him to leave the Deccan at once and return to court.

Late in November the court officially learned that in the previous month Husain Ali Khan had started from Aurangabad. Before his departure Husain Ali Khan enlisted the support of the Maratha Raja Shahu, agreeing to pay him one-fourth of the revenues of the Deccan. He obtained the services of the Marathas at the daily rate of one rupee for each man, to be paid from the time of crossing the Narmada until their return home.[83] This was undoubtedly a short-sighted act because it gave the Marathas their first chance to assess the extent of the Moslem decline.

The Maratha soldiery gave a very poor performance in Delhi. At the sight of the imperial forces they fled like a flock of sheep before a pack of wolves. Although no army pursued them, they allowed the idlers, butchers, washermen and scavengers of the bazaar to relieve them of their horses and spears. It is estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 Marathas lost their lives in the streets of Delhi. Khafi Khan, who was present as a spectator, considered this disgraceful rout a special interposition of Providence, for otherwise the Marathas could have boasted that they had gone to Delhi, the imperial capital, and there deposed and imprisoned the Moghul sovereign.[84] Had Khafi

Khan lived a little longer he would have seen events that turned such a boast into truth.

In the negotiations between Farrukhsiyar and the Saiyyad brothers the emperor accepted almost all of the conditions of 'Abdullāh Khan and his brash brother Husain Ali Khan, but both parties continued to mistrust each other. Finally on February 28, 1719 the Saiyyad brothers deposed and imprisoned Farrukhsiyar.[85] He was executed after having reigned six years.

The Saiyyad brothers chose Rafi-ud-Darjat for the throne of Delhi. He was one of the sons of Rafi-ush-shan, the slain son of Bahadur Shah. The consumptive youth of twenty was proclaimed emperor and given the titles of *Abul Barakat Sultan Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Rafi-ud-Darjat.* In spite of his pompous titles the sick youth was a lifeless puppet in the hands of the chief minister and his brother. At the first audience on the plea of Maharaja Ajit Singh, Raja Bhim Singh of Dota and Raja Ratan Chand the abolition of *jizya* was reiterated.[86]

A few days after the accession of the new sovereign on March 30, 1719, the Marathas who had come to Delhi under Balaji, the *Peshwa* to reinforce Husain Ali Khan's troops against the emperor were dismissed. They left the same day taking with them Madan Singh, the younger son of Shambhaji, and some female members of his family who had been prisoners since the days of Aurangzeb. The Marathas also took with them three important documents: a grant of the *chauth* of the Deccan provinces, a grant for the *sardeshmukhi* of the same provinces and one for the *swaraj* or hereditary states.[87] The first document dated March 13, 1719 gave the Marathas one-fourth of the revenue of all the six *subahs* (provinces) of the Deccan, including the tributary states of Tanjar, Trichinopoly and Mysore. The second, dated March 24, 1719, was for 10 percent of the remaining three-fourths of the same revenues. The *Swaraj* were the territories in Shivaji's possession at the time of his death in 1681 now allocated to his grandson with certain modifications.[88]

The imperial *farman* (order) not only legalized the Maratha state but constituted a formal repudiation of Emperor Aurangzeb's policies towards the Hindus. This *farman* taught the Marathas a lesson: that revolts against the sovereign and encroachments upon his authority and territories might prove extremely rewarding. They learned that under the dazzling exterior of the empire Moslem society in general and the royalty in particular was rotten to the core.

In the confusion attending his accession no attention had been paid to Rafi-ud-Darjat's health. He was afterwards found to be suffering

from tuberculosis. Moreover, he was addicted to the use of opium and from the day that he ascended the throne he became progressively weaker. He told the Saiyyad brothers that if they would comply with his most earnest desire and raise his elder brother, Rafi-ud-Daulah, to the throne he should die happy.[39] Accordingly, on June 4, 1719, Rafi-ud-Darjat was sent back to the *harem* and two days afterwards Rafi-ud-Daulah was seated on the throne. Rafi-ud-Darjat expired on June 11, and was buried near the shrine of Khawja Qutb-ud-Din. He had reigned only three months and nine days.

Rafi-ud-Daulah remained like his brother a puppet in the hands of 'Abdullāh Khan. Physically, Rafi-ud-Daulah turned out to be as sickly as his brother and like him given to excessive use of opium. He died soon in camp at Bidyapur on September 17 or 18, 1719, after a reign of four months and sixteen days.

The Saiyyads chose Prince Roshan Akhtar, the son of the late Khujista Akhtar Jahan Shah, fourth son of the Emperor Bahadur Shah, to be the next sovereign. He was proclaimed emperor on September 28, 1719, under the title of *Abul Fath Nasīr-ud-Din Muhammad Shah.* He was a handsome and fairly intelligent eighteen-year-old youth who was born at Ghazni on August 16, 1702. All the persons surrounding the young emperor were agents of the two Saiyyad king-makers; Himmat Khan Barah continued to act as tutor and guardian. Muhammad Shah deferred to him in everything and would even ask his permission to attend the public prayers or to go out shooting.[40]

By this time the authority of the Saiyyad brothers was established throughout the empire and the Tūranī party sufficiently cowed. Nizām-ul-Mūlk, the acknowledged leader of the Tūranī party at this time, was again offered the government of the Deccan. He set out for this province on March 15, 1719 a few days after the accession of Rafi-ud-Darjat. This was a God-sent opportunity for Nizām-ul-Mūlk; away from the capital, Nizām-ul-Mūlk hoped to have the time and material resources to challenge the supremacy of the Hindūstānī party which would wither away without the two brothers.

Soon afterwards the Saiyyads realized that as governor of the Deccan Nizām-ul-Mūlk would be very dangerous; a *farman* was issued to recall him. This was a distinct breach of faith because the brothers had assured him that he would not be recalled after as short a period of time as in the past. It confirmed Nizām-ul-Mūlk's belief that he was to be destroyed. His cousin, Muhammad Amīn Khan, another Tūranī leader, wrote to him indicating the collaboration between Emperor Muhammad Shah and the Tūranī party against the Hindū-

stanī party. With his own letter, Muhammad Amīn Khan included a letter written by Muhammad Shah's own hand and another one bearing the seal of the emperor's mother. These letters complained of the Saiyyads' usurpation of authority and called upon Nizām-ul-Mūlk to espouse the imperial cause and effect the emperor's deliverance.[41]

The Saiyyads hastily dispatched their nephew 'Alīm Khan, a youth of 22, to stop Nizām-ul-Mūlk in the Deccan, but he was easily defeated and slain in battle on August 10, 1720. This disaster threw the Saiyyads into a state of consternation. At length it was decided that the emperor in person with the imperial artillery and all senior officials should proceed to the Deccan in the charge of Husain Ali Khan, while 'Abdullāh Khan, should remain in Delhi to maintain law and order. Much against the emperor's desire, imperial forces marched toward the Deccan. During this time, between September 6, and October 8, 1720, the Tūranīs designed a plot to assassinate Husain Ali Khan. The chief conspirators were the leaders of the Tūranī party—Muhammad Amīn Khan, Haider Qūli Khan, Shah 'Abdūl Ghaffūr and Mīr Haider Beg Dughlot.

On the morning of October 8, as the *palaki* (litter) of Husain Ali Khan passed through the camp Haider Beg Dughlat, with one or two other Tūranīs appeared on one side shouting "A complaint, a complaint!" and drew from his sleeve a paper in the nature of a petition. As Husain Ali Khan knew the man by sight he was allowed to approach. The petitioner came close and put the paper into his hands. While Husain Ali Khan's attention was given to reading the paper, the assassin in an instant drew a butcher's knife from his waistband and plunged it into his side. He died within minutes.[42]

To offset this blow to his personal power, 'Abdullāh Khan continued his longstanding technique of kingmaking. He brought forward another prince, Muhammad Ibrahīm, the eldest son of Rafi-ush-Shan, and raised him to the throne in 1720. In order to assure his protege's succession 'Abdullāh Khan fought a pitched battle with the imperial forces on the right bank of the Jamuna in Pargana Palwal. 'Abdūllah Khan was taken prisoner and died of poisoned food on October 11, 1722.[43] Muhammad Ibrahīm was imprisoned in the citadel of Shahjahanabad, where he died on January 30, 1746.

After the death of 'Abdullāh Khan the Hindūstanī party disappeared as a vocal and organized entity. Muhammad Shah started his administration with Nizām-ul-Mūlk as his chief minister. After the later made an abortive attempt to reimpose *jizya* in 1723, it was nominally reinstituted two years later, but the customary collection was never en-

forced. Yielding to the appeals of the Hindu rajas the tax was finally permanently abolished in India.

Throughout his reign Muhammad Shah was influenced by private favorites, most of them women and eunuchs, whom his weakness encouraged to interfere in public affairs. During the first half of the reign the most conspicuous and the most influential of these favorites was the woman Rahīm-un-Nisā, known familiarly as *Koki Jiu* (Madam Foster Sister), with her acolytes Hafiz Khidmātgār Khan (a palace eunuch), Roshan-ud-Daulah Zafar Khan of Panipat, known usually by the nickname of Turra-i-Baz (Falcon's Crest) and the "holy" man Shah 'Abdūl Ghaffūr.

Koki Jiu, this clever and capable woman, was the daughter of Jan Muhammad, a *rammal* (geomancer) of old Delhi. She acquired elegant manners by visiting the mansions of the nobility as her father's messenger. The reputation of her father increased until he was finally consulted by the ladies in the harems of the royal princes who lived in the prison-palace of Salimgarh. Among other things Jan Muhammad predicted that Roshan Akhtar would soon ascend the throne. After this, Nawab Qudsiya, the mother of Roshan Akhtar (subsequently Emperor Muhammad Shah) became one of Koki Jiu's special friends in the palace. In order to explain her frequent visits to the guards of the prison-palace, the story was given out that she had been suckled by the same nurse as Roshan Akhtar; thus she became known as Koki Jiu.

When Muhammad Shah gained control of state affairs, Koki Jiu's voice became predominant. She was entrusted with the imperial *scrutoire* and private signet, and used to undersign the imperial answers to petitions.[44] Muhammad Khan Bangash, one of the provincial governors, indicated that he had promised her one hundred thousand rupees on his appointment to the province of Malwa.[45] Koki Jiu often composed poetry extemporaneously; in the bazaars of Delhi people used to sing her verses.

The most influential member of the triumvirate surrounding Koki Jiu was Shah 'Abdūl Ghaffūr. In the popular belief he was the intimate of *jinns* (spooks) from whom he learned magic spells and incantations. Koki Jiu pictured him to the ladies in the harem as a *wali* (saint) endowed with supernatural powers. Nawab Qudsiya became his patroness, asking him to interpret her dreams. This greatly increased his reputation. Shah 'Abdūl Ghaffūr played a prominent part in the assassination of Husain Ali Khan, passing between the conspirators and Muhammad Shah's private tents in the disguise of a milk woman.

As Muhammad Shah paid no attention to public business, Shah 'Abdūl Ghaffūr controlled the affairs of the state for twelve full years. If he opposed a policy nothing could be done; even the emperor's wishes were ignored. At length in the thirteenth year of his reign Muhammad Shah took matters into his own hands.

Nizām-ul-Mūlk's Efforts to Streamline the Administration. Nizām-ul-Mūlk planned to restore the government to the condition in which it had been during the reign of Aurangzeb, his model in all things. He devoted much of his energy to abolishing the practice of granting offices only upon receipt of a bribe to the emperor, dignified with the name of *peshkash* (offering of the first fruits). He also tried to remedy the practice of giving revenue paying lands to the nobility. Nizām-ul-Mūlk commented on the unfitness of various men appointed to high rank while veteran officers were wanting the necessaries of life. Some of the latter were reduced to collecting grain from the *jagirs* and selling it in the imperial marketplace. Every day supplicants thronged around Nizām-ul-Mūlk on his way to court. One man would cry out, "I am a descendant of Mahabat Khan," another "I am one of the grandsons of Ali Mardan Khan." The people too clamored for lower prices, casting dust upon their heads as they shouted "faryad! faryad!" (redress, redress). He made detailed reports on these points to the emperor. Although nominally approved, Nizām-ul-Mūlk's proposals were seldom acted upon.

Koki Jiu played a leading part in opposing Nizām-ul-Mūlk's intended reforms. Her conduct provoked the *wazīr* to compose a satirical quatrain, of which the last line was "today a filthy woman is in the palace of [Aurangzeb] Alamgir." The young emperor and his youthful boon-companions considered the fifty-year old Nizām-ul-Mūlk old-fashioned. Nizām-ul-Mūlk wanted the emperor to assume an air of sobriety and dignity in public, to correct his morals, lessen the influence of his favorites and to appoint a time for rendering justice, in short to discharge worthily the duties incumbent on a sovereign. Instead Nizām-ul-Mūlk's manners and appearance were ridiculed.

Koki Jiu and her helpers, the eunuch Hafiz Khidmātgār Khan and Roshan-ud-Daulah, interfered in every measure of reform and secured large payments for every official appointment. In addition the Hindūstanī party began again to oppose Nizām-ul-Mūlk. This time the party was headed by Samsam-ud-Daulah who had the support of the Hindu rajas. Samsam-ud-Daulah was ambitious but did not possess the administrative qualities of the two Saiyyads. Nevertheless the constant

misrepresentation of Nizām-ul-Mūlk's actions and proposals finally created misgivings in the mind of the emperor. In order to escape from the hostile atmosphere of the court Nizām-ul-Mūlk decided to become the governor of the Deccan, where he returned in December, 1723.

The Marathas who had already observed the corruption rampant at the Moghul court and had gained a first hand knowledge of the strife between Indian and foreign-born nobility took advantage of the situation. They started to raid the imperial territories periodically. In order to get even with his opponents at the court Nizām-ul-Mūlk connived with the Marathas. By 1732 the Marathas occupied almost all of Gujrat; Bundelkhand was partitioned and Malva was also overrun.

The conquest of these areas was quite easy for the Marathas. Hindu sentiment had turned against the Moslem government of Delhi. In fact the Rajput princes had met in a solemn assembly in 1710 on the borders of Pushkar lake near Ajmer and in deliberate concert openly renounced their allegiance to the emperor. They also solemnly vowed to stop the practice of giving their daughters in marriage to the Moghul Royal house and determined to wage open war against the Moslem power.[46] Appealing to this anti-Moslem feeling, Baji Rao I, the Maratha leader, united the local Hindu chieftains as well as the neighboring Rajputs of Jaipur and Mewar with the Marathas in an alliance against the "oppressors" of their common *dharma* (religion).[47] No wonder that they conquered three imperial provinces in a short time!

Between 1733 and 1738 the Marathas made annual raids into the imperial territory. In April, 1737 they plundered the suburbs of Agra and Delhi. Fugitives from Delhi brought the disastrous news to the emperor but he and his courtiers ridiculed them, and the raids continued unabated until the imperial court itself was shaken. By this time the opinion prevailed at court that Nizām-ul-Mūlk was the only man who could save the empire and stem the tide of Maratha expansion. Nizām-ul-Mūlk was recalled to Delhi and again appointed chief minister.

In January, 1738, the forces of Nizām-ul-Mūlk and Baji Rao clashed at Bhopal and Nizām-ul-Mūlk was defeated. The latter was obligated to sign a convention delegating to Baji Rao the whole of Malwa province with sovereignty over the territory between Narbada and the Chamba, and a subsidy of five million rupees.[48] Since these terms were humiliating for the Moslems they gave a tremendous boost to Maratha morale: for the first time they had defeated a great living

Moslem general in open combat. In April, 1738, Nizām-ul-Mūlk returned to Delhi where another danger, the invasion of Nadir Shah (the new King of Iran) had begun to threaten the tottering empire.

Nadir Shah's Invasion. Nadir Kūli (the slave of the Wonderful), known to history as Nadir Shah, was born and bred in Khorasan, an area he always regarded as his home. He was the son of Imam Kūli, a humble member of the Kirklū tribe which, owing to its weakness, united with the more powerful Afshar tribe. The young Nadir was a great soldier and leader of men. He rendered valuable services to the Safavi dynasty for which he was rewarded with the governments of Khorasan, Sistan, Kerman, and Mazanderan.[49] After his successful campaigns against the Russians in which he regained Baku and Derbent in 1735 Nadir Shah was considered a national hero by the Persians. In 1736 the dignitaries of Persia requested Nadir Shah to ascend the throne of Persia and protect the nation. After refusing daily for a month Nadir "yielded to the request of the people."

Nadir Shah had undoubtedly resolved on a career of conquest long before he ascended the throne of Persia. During 1737-1738 he attacked the Bakhtiari tribes in Afghanistan and then proceeded to conquer Kandahar. That city held out against Nadir Shah for a year; during the tedious months which were spent in front of Kandahar, Nadir Shah frequently discussed an expedition against Delhi which would be the natural sequel to a successful Afghan campaign. He had informed the Court of Delhi of his Afghan campaign and had requested that no fugitives be allowed to find asylum across the frontier in the Moghul empire.[50] Relations between Persia and Moghul India had been traditionally cordial, so Nadir Shah expected that his request would be honored. Nadir Shah's envoy Ali Mardan Shāmlū was informed by Muhammad Shah's court that the necessary instructions had been given to officials in Kabul; a second envoy sent by Nadir Shah received a similar reply. Nevertheless fugitives freely escaped to Ghazni and Kabul and it was evident that strict orders to prevent this had not been given[51] or that Emperor Muhammad Shah was in no position to enforce the order since he was incapable of checking the tide of Hindu revolt led by the Marathas at home.

From Kandahar Nadir Shah marched north on Kabul capturing Ghazni on the way. Before the Delhi court realized what was happening Nadir Shah had taken Peshawar and crossed the Indus at Attock. The Governor of Lahore, Zakariya Khan, was defeated and Nadir Shah proceeded towards Delhi. Muhammad Shah finally woke up and

collecting what troops he could, marched to the plain of Karnal. There he entrenched his camp and awaited the invader.

Meanwhile the chief minister wrote to Raja Jeh Singh Sevai and other powerful Rajput princes asking them to come to the aid of the emperor against the foreign invader. Every one of them sent "frivolous and far-fetched excuses, and not one of them moved a foot."[82] Evidently "the spirit of Pushkar lake," where the Hindu rajas in a solemn assembly in 1710 had decided to challenge the Moslem power, still lived. The princes decided to watch from a distance the spectacle of two Moslem armies cutting each other's throats. From their point of view they were acting realistically. If Nadir Shah defeated Muhammad Shah, the Hindu princes, particularly the Marathas, would have an easy time dealing with the dying empire. Why should they help Muhammad Shah and delay their ultimate freedom from the yoke of the Moslems?

In the battle of Karnal in February, 1739, the imperial forces were defeated and Nadir Shah marched in triumph into Delhi, where Muhammad Shah handed over the amassed wealth of his ancestors. When a rumor spread that Nadir Shah had been killed the populace of Delhi rose and put to the sword more than seven hundred Persians.[83] Nadir Shah was incensed and unleashed his soldiers who massacred, plundered and burnt a large section of Delhi.[84] The emperor interceded with Nadir Shah and the massacre was stopped. However, Nadir Shah was not content with the treasures and wealth found in the imperial coffers and made immense exactions on the inhabitants of Delhi.[85]

Apparently Nadir Shah felt that staying in Delhi and ruling over India in addition to his central Asian empire would be an impossible task; he restored the Indian empire to Muhammad Shah, entering into an alliance with him and marrying "a princess from the descendants of Emperor Shah Jahan" to Nasrullah, Nadir Shah's second son.

According to the provisions of the alliance the Persians annexed the province of Kabul and all the portions of the Punjab and Sindh lying west of the Indus river down to the sea, as well as the province of Thatta or Lower Sindh and the ports situated in it. In addition Nadir Shah received in perpetual assignment the revenue of the four cis-Indus *mahals* of Sialkot, Gujrat, Aurangabad, and Pasrur. Muhammad Shah's governor at Lahore signed an agreement to give Nadir Shah two million rupees every year from these four *mahals.*[86]

On May 5, 1709, Nadir Shah left Delhi after a stay of almost two months. The Marathas immediately established their rule in several

provinces of the empire. The Delhi sovereign had no armed force and no commander left to offer any resistance. Encouraged by the weakness of the central government Maratha bands repeatedly penetrated Orissa, southeastern Bihar and Bengal. The local governors were helpless against their hordes and the emperor could think of no better means of meeting this danger than begging the Poona Marathas to drive the Nagpur Marathas out of the imperial territories.

Rise of Independent Dynasties. The dismemberment of the Moghul Empire was hastened by the establishment of independent dynasties in the provinces. Unusually capable viceroys after long rule would transmit their power to their sons, securing outward legal sanction for this practice by means of gifts to the shadowy emperor in Delhi.

In the Deccan Nizām-ul-Mūlk, first appointed to the Viceroyalty in 1713, then removed and finally reinstated in 1725, ruled until his death in 1748 after bequeathing his post to his progeny. In Oudh, S'adāt Khan was appointed in 1723 and succeeded on his death in 1739 by his son-in-law Safdar Jang and his descendents. In the Punjab Saif-ud-Daulah I was appointed viceroy in 1713 and succeeded in 1726 by his son Zakariya Khan (called Saif-ud-Daulah II). When the latter died in 1745 the provinces of Lahore and Multan were left to his sons Yahiya Khan and Hayātullāh Khan. Saif-ud-Daulah I founded a dynasty in the Punjab which came to an end only when his unworthy grandsons quarrelled and thereby lost their heritage to the Afghans in 1748. The provinces of Malwa and Gujrat were annexed by foreign powers without being preceded by the long rule of any governor.[67]

The Sikh enemies of the Moslem empire were regionally divided into two groups: the cis-Satlaj and trans-Satlaj, the former living southeast of the Satlaj river between Ludhiana and Karnal and the latter northwest of that river between Ludhiana and Lahore. The cis-Satlaj in time were ruled by territorial magnates, the Rajas of Patiala, Kapurthala, Nabha, and Jhind and some smaller chiefs who graduated from being robbers on the imperial highway from Delhi to Lahore which ran through their land.

At first the trans-Satlaj Sikhs defied the civil administration of the governor of Lahore, supplementing their assertion of independence by plundering their weaker neighbors. After the Sikh expansion in 1761, the cis-Satlaj Sikhs settled in principalities of their own, while the trans-Satlaj or Manjha Sikhs began to cross the river every year to

blackmail, rob or burn the villages and unwalled cities of the entire country from Delhi to Meerut, Saharanpur and Hardwar.

A new stage began when Sikhs from beyond the river invaded the cis-Satlaj region under Bedi Singh of Una in 1794 and Ranjit Singh in 1806. This brings events up to the British period of Indian history, when militant Moslem nationalism waged a desperate war against the Sikhs, Maratha Hindus and the British.

Bengal Becomes Semi-Independent. The province of Bengal, which was the first to fall under British rule, was governed by a series of able governors. At the time of Aurangzeb's death in 1707 Mūrshid Qūli Khan (called Ja'ffar Khan Nasiri, Nasir Jāng, Mutaman-ul-Mūlk) was *na'ib nazim* (deputy) of Bengal and Orissa, as well as *dīwān* (revenue chief) of these two provinces. Since the governor, prince 'Azīm-ush-Shan, stayed at the imperial court during the next four years, Mūrshid Qūli Khan was the virtual ruler of Bengal. Farrukhsiyar on his accession in 1713 made him actual governor of Bengal in addition to his dīwānship. In 1719 the full governorship of Orissa was conferred upon him.

Mūrshid Qūli Khan's strong, honest and efficient administration and strict enforcement of order greatly increased the wealth and happiness of the people. When he died on June 30, 1727, he was succeeded by his son-in-law Shuja-ud-Din Muhammad Khan, (called Shuja-ud Daulah) whom the emperor also made governor of Bihar in 1733. Shuja, like his father, enjoyed a peaceful and prosperous reign.

After his death on March 13, 1739, his son Sarfraz Khan became the governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. However this youthful ruler's excessive licentiousness, which he tried to hide behind a pious front, caused a rapid decline in the administration. The evil was aggravated by Sarfraz' jealous hostility to Alivardi Khan and his elder brother Haji Ahmad who had been the ablest and best-equipped officers during the last two reigns. Knowing that his life, property and honor would be in jeopardy at the earliest opportunity Alivardi Khan decided to strike first. With remarkable skill and courage he led an expedition from Patna, where he was deputy governor, into Bengal, defeated and slew Sarfraz at the battle of Gheria on April 10, 1740, and made himself *nawab* (governor) of the three provinces, securing the emperor's approval through ample bribery. This act of usurpation opened the flood gate of trouble for Bengal by encouraging others to imitate his open defiance of the imperial government.

Between 1742 and 1751 the Marathas invaded Bengal, Bihar, and

Orissa no less than ten times. No help from the emperor Muhammad Shah was forthcoming. In fact early in November, 1746, Alivardi Khan received a letter from Muhammad Shah announcing that he had agreed to make peace with the Marathas by promising Raja Shahu 2,500,000 rupees as the *chauth* of Bengal, and 1,200,000 as that of Bihar. These sums were to be annually transmitted by the governor of Bengal to Delhi and there handed over to the agents of the Maratha king. Alivardi Khan did not carry out these instructions because the revenue was not available. Old age and incessant wars had finally caught up with him. In the late spring of 1751 a peace treaty was signed between the Marathas and the governor with the following conditions:

(1) Mīr Habīb (heretofore in the employ of the court) of Nagpur, a Persian adventurer, would now become a servant of Alivardi and act as *na'ib-nazim* of Orissa on his behalf. He should pay the surplus revenue of the province to Raghuji's army as their salary.

(2) From the Bengal revenue, 1,200,000 rupees would be paid to Raghuji as *chauth* for that province.

(3) The Maratha government agreed not to set foot again in Alivardi's dominions. The frontiers of Bengal were settled.[58] Thus in a few years Orissa passed entirely out of the hands of the governor of Bengal and Bihar and became a Maratha province. This was the one permanent result of the annual Maratha expeditions into the dominions of Alivardi Khan.

Alivardi Khan died on April 9, 1756, having designated as his successor his maternal grandson Siraj-ud-Daulah who was at that time nineteen years old. Though he had great administrative capabilities Siraj-ud-Daulah was quick-tempered and lacked the knowledge which comes with age and experience. He appointed a Hindu *kyesth* Mohan Lal, as his supreme *dīwān,* and bestowed on him the title of *Maharajah Mohanlal Bahadur*. He gave his new *dīwān* a large bodyguard of cavalry and infantry and ordered all his generals and nobles to pay homage to him. All did so except Mīr Ja'ffar, a brother-in-law of Alivardi Khan, who had been dismissed by Siraj-ud-Daulah from his position of generalissimo of the army. Raja Mohanlal, intoxicated with his newly won prestige and power, appointed his own relatives to jobs connected with crown domains. He also appointed new revenue officers and dismissed the old ones. In one instance he sent a message to Nawab Ghūlām Husain Khan Bahadur Tabatabai that if he would accept a salary of 200 rupees a month he might stay on, otherwise he should quit the country.[59] Thus Siraj-ud-Daulah earned the reputation of following a pro-Hindu policy.

Two contemporary historians, Saiyyad Ghūlām Husain Khan Tabatabai[60] and Ghūlām Husain Salim, in their hatred against the youthful *nawab,* sacrificed historical objectivity by painting a very black picture of Siraj-ud-Daulah. The British historians of the eighteenth century added their own inaccuracies and invented preposterous stories like that of the "Black Hole of Calcutta," to malign Siraj-ud-Daulah. Thanks to the dispassionate research undertaken in the latter part of the nineteenth century by Hindus, Moslems and western scholars, we are now in a position to assess impartially the policies of Siraj-ud-Daulah, particularly in regard to the British East India Company.

Expansion of the British East India Company. Sir Thomas Roe came to the court of Emperor Jahangir in December, 1615 as an ambassador from King James. His objective was to gain trade concessions in the Moghul empire and to seek redress against the Portuguese who were almost the unchallenged masters of the Indian Ocean. By the time Roe returned to England in February, 1619, there were well-established English factories at Surat, Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach[61] and permission had been obtained to open factories in Bengal and Sindh.[62] By the middle of the seventeenth century the East India Company abandoned the factories in upper India (Agra and Lucknow) and concentrated their settlements around Surat and Bengal. Emperor Aurangzeb almost expelled them from India but the British were saved by a humiliating submission involving the payment of a considerable sum of money.[63] During the first half of the eighteenth century the East India Company's trading centers became the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay.

Emperor Farrukhsiyar made the most important concession of all Moghul sovereigns in the post-Aurangzeb period. The English presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay demanded comprehensive concessions from the emperor and sent an embassy under John Surman to Delhi in the summer of 1714. The negotiations were so protracted that it was the middle of June 1717 before Surman was able to quit the capital, carrying with him three *farmans.* They were actually rewards for Doctor William Hamilton's success in curing the emperor of a painful disease.[64]

The three *farmans* brought back by Surman were addressed to the officials of the provinces of Hyderabad, Gujrat and Bengal (Bihar and Orissa included)—where the English by this time were settled. They were given the right to trade in Bengal free of all dues except the customary payment of 3,000 rupees per annum. For the exercise of

this privilege a *dastak* (passport) signed by the President of Calcutta exempted specified goods from examination by the officers of the Bengal government. The Company was also permitted to purchase the *zemindari* of thirty-seven towns in the same manner in which they had been authorized by prince 'Azīm-us-shan, Governor of Bengal under Aurangzeb, to purchase Calcutta, Suttanutty and Govindpur. The Company's privilege of freedom from dues throughout the province of Hyderabad was continued, except for a rent which continued to be paid in Madras. Certain neighboring villages which had long been in a disputed area were added to that city. A rearrangement of the Company's land around Vizagapatam was sanctioned and a yearly sum of 10,000 rupees was accepted in satisfaction of all customs and dues at Surat. In addition, the rupees coined by the Company at Bombay were allowed to pass as currency throughout the imperial dominions.[65] These concessions assured the future growth of British power.

During this period Bengal, as noted above, was the target of annual Maratha raids, giving the governors of the East India Company an excuse to fortify their towns and raise regular armed forces. As much as Alivardi Khan resented the increasing power, wealth and organization of the Company, he could hardly voice objections in the face of the Maratha threat. On his deathbed he warned his successor, Siraj-ud-Daulah, against the dangers of British aggression.

British Conspiracy: Betrayal of Mīr Ja'ffar. Just after the succession of Siraj-ud-Daulah, Nawazish Ahmad Khan Shahamat Jāng, the deputy Governor of Dacca, died. He had also nominally held the office of *Dīwān* of Bengal, although the work had actually been done by Hindu deputy *dīwāns*, including one Raja Rajballab. Siraj-ud-Daulah arrested Raja Rajballab charging that his accounts were not in order.[66] At Rajmahal, Siraj-ud-Daulah was informed to his annoyance that the English authorities in Calcutta had prevented the arrest of Raja Rajballab's family, which Siraj-ud-Daulah had ordered. Another source of friction was the British effort to fortify their factories without obtaining Siraj-ud-Daulah's permission.[67] They might have felt that this was necessary in view of their hostilities with the French, but they were still under obligation to seek the permission of Siraj-ud-Daulah for further fortification. He occupied the British factory at Kasimbazar near Murshidabad and the director Mr. Watts was taken prisoner. To further assert his authority, Siraj-ud-Daulah attacked Calcutta on June 18, 1756, and the British officials, Mr. Macket, Captain Com-

mandant Minchin, Captain Grant, and the Governor of Calcutta, Mr. Drake, fled in front of the *nawab*.[68]

The news of the capture of Kasimbazar arrived at Madras on July 15; the news of Calcutta arrived on August 5. Then Col. Robert Clive and Admiral Watson set out to recover their factories. A war was narrowly averted and a peace treaty negotiated on February 9, 1757, according to which Siraj-ud-Daulah agreed to restore the factories to the Company and all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed; to permit them to fortify Calcutta and to make compensation for plunder. So greatly was Siraj-ud-Daulah pleased with this treaty that two days after its conclusion, he proposed to sign a defensive alliance with the English. The English eagerly entered into that agreement and both parties ratified it on the same day.[69]

Soon afterwards a war broke out between the British and the French, who had succeeded in establishing a factory in Chandernagore. Colonel Clive defeated the French forces and occupied Chandernagore. The French leader, named M. Law, sought refuge in Marshidabad and became Siraj-ud-Daulah's attendant at the court where a detachment was assigned to him. The English objected to this declaring that according to the treaty Siraj-ud-Daulah was to consider their enemies as his. A long correspondence ensued in which the nawab maintained that there was no breach of faith in employing a few fugitives as attendants. Finally the *nawab* acquiesced and sent M. Law to Azimabad to be called if needed. At the same time Colonel Clive urged the *nawab* to permit the English to build a fort and establish a mint, a "project which they had desired to carry out for the last sixty years."[70]

Without the formal permission of Siraj-ud-Daulah the English first struck coin on August 19, 1757. Although the coins were issued in the name of the Moghul Emperor, a new method of preparing them by means of a mould, reminded the people that they were struck by the British. Soon coin was struck with the likeness of the English King William IV, but they continued for a long while to be issued in the name of Shah 'Alām, the Moghul Emperor.[71]

At this time the British authorities decided to break the defensive alliance with Siraj-ud-Daulah. They encouraged a conspiracy against the *nawab* among his officers. The ring leader of this plot was disgruntled Mīr Ja'ffar, Siraj-ud-Daulah's paymaster. Other conspirators against the *nawab's* authority were Amīn Chand Raura, generally called Omichand and Khawjah Wazīr. According to another contemporary source, *Siyār-ūl-Mutākharīn*, the conspiracy was planned by Mīr

Ja'ffar, Rajah Dulab Ram, and Jagat Seth, who each had representatives, Omichand being merely Mīr Ja'ffar's *wakil.* Clive treated with the conspirators through Mr. Watts.

In a letter of July 14, 1757, to the Secret Committee of the East India Company in London, Roger Drake and Richard Becker explained their policy of entering into a conspiracy against Siraj-ud-Daulah and breaking the alliance with him unilaterally. The letter accuses the *nawab* of harboring ill-feeling against the English and "privately endeavoring to bring in the French with promises of joining them against us." [72] These accusations are unsubstantiated by any evidence. Siraj-ud-Daulah was wary of the British ambitions in Bengal, but after negotiating a defensive alliance with Clive he had sent his French officer to Azimabad, much against his own best judgement. The truth is that the British felt that they would be able to put up a puppet as the head of the Bengal government, if the conspiracy were to succeed which seemed likely since a majority of the Nawab's officers were dissatisfied and in the pay of the British.

That Hindu functionaries including Dulab Ram, Jagat Seth, Ram Narain turned out to be disloyal came as a surprise because Siraj-ud-Daulah had adopted a pro-Hindu policy in his distribution of state patronage. In fact it was the elevation to the dīwānship of an obscure Hindu, Raja Mohanlal, that alienated to a great extent the sympathies of Moslems, who otherwise might have stood by Siraj-ud-Daulh during the crisis.[73]

When the British finished their negotiations with Mīr Ja'ffar, they decided to attack Siraj-ud-Daulah. According to the letter of Mr. Drake to the East India Company Mīr Ja'ffar had assumed such financial and political obligation that the Company would certainly emerge as the paramount power in Bengal. The Company's demands that Mīr Ja'ffar granted were: "That our *farman* and the privileges acquired by the treaty with Siraj-ud-Daulah be confirmed and punctually complied with; that restitution be made of the Company's whole loss, and the loss of the European inhabitants of Calcutta; that our bounds be augmented; that we have liberty to fortify Kasimbazar; that an offensive and defensive alliance be made against all enemies of both parties, as well as Europeans . . . and that the French be not permitted to resettle in these provinces; that the Moors[74] do not fortify within twenty miles of the river side from Hugli down to Hijili; and that the revenues of a certain tract of land be made over and assigned to us in consideration of our maintaining a good body of troops." [75]

Seeing no further hindrance to a war against Siraj-ud-Daulah, Clive marched his troops to Plassey. The *nawab* marched to the battlefield with Mīr Madan, Raja Mohanlal and Mīr Ja'ffar. Siraj-ud-Daulah tried to win over his disaffected officers who outwardly professed loyalty to him but were about to betray him. Clive commenced the battle with a brisk cannonade while Mīr Ja'ffar stood at a distance and watched the game. Mīr Madan fought bravely till about 3:00 P.M., and steadily advanced with Mohanlal close to Clive's position. Seeing Mīr Madan's gallantry Clive was un-nerved and reproached Omichand for having falsely assured him that everyone was disaffected against the *nawab*.[76]

At this time, however, Mīr Madan was hit by a cannonball and was removed to Siraj-ud-Daulah's tent where he died. Siraj-ud-Daulah, now becoming anxious asked Mīr Ja'ffar to forgive him for past quarrels and beseeched him to fight on his behalf. Mīr Ja'ffar deceived Siraj-ud-Daulah once again and told him "today order the battle to cease; tomorrow I will fight for you with the whole army." Siraj-ud-Daulah fell into Mīr Ja'ffar's trap. He ordered his *dīwān*, Raja Mohanlal, who was continuing the fight after Mīr Madan's fall, to return. Mohanlal's return had a disastrous effect on Siraj-ud-Daulah's army, who dispersed in all directions.[77] The *nawab* realized that he had been betrayed and ran for his life from the battlefield. He was pursued, arrested and brought back to Murshidabad where he was put to death on July 2, 1760, by the order of Mīr Ja'ffar's son.[78]

Mīr Ja'ffar had sown the seeds of his own destruction. In addition to the sums defined in the treaty he had promised large gifts to the principal officers of the Company. It was estimated by the Secret Committee of the East India Company in 1772, that the total amount of these gifts was about 1,250,000 pounds, of which Clive received 234,000. These were only the "proved or acknowledged" gifts. In 1759 Clive further received, as a *jagir* or estate, the right to receive from the Company the tribute due from the territories known as "the twenty-four *paraganas*" or districts. Before Mīr Ja'ffar knew it, his treasury was depleted.

Mīr Ja'ffar was weak and shortsighted. He had not realized that he was arranging for the British to be the real masters of Bengal. Before 1757 British agents had been in the habit of engaging in local trade through their *banyas* (Hindu agents). There had been many complaints of their misuse of the *dastaks* (free passports), which had been allowed since 1717 for goods belonging to the Company and intended for export. Those *dastaks* had never been intended to cover local

trade. However, they were now abused on a gigantic scale, not only by the employees of the Company, but by local traders who paid for this privilege. Mīr Ja'ffar's officers dared not question an English *dastak* or a boat with an English flag. His revenues shrank and legitimate Bengali trade was ruined by unfair competition. Mīr Ja'ffar's treasury was exhausted by British demands for presents. These practices are described by the Englishmen themselves in letters written to their friends and relatives in England.[79]

Bengal had thus fallen into a state of utter confusion and misery. The English traders increased the anarchy, while their arms prevented the outbreak of a revolution or an action by Delhi which might have restored order. Clearly Mīr Ja'ffar's government was a failure, but the Company did not attribute this to their plundering of the province. They decided that a change of authority to more capable hands was called for. Accordingly the Nawabship of Bengal was transferred—with an ease which showed how completely the Company was in control—to Mīr Kasim, the son-in-law of Mīr Ja'ffar. A new treaty was made with Mīr Kasim, providing for the cession of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong and the payment of the cost of the Company's armies.

Mīr Kasim was a much abler and more vigorous man than his father-in-law. However, efficient government involved curbing the personal inland trade of the Company's employees and their agents. This roused the Company's bitter hostility against Mīr Kasim. Mīr Kasim could not persuade the company officials to abandon their illegal commerce; in fairness to his own subjects, he abolished trade dues altogether. The East India Company demanded that the duties be re-established. Mīr Kasim did not comply; consequently the armies of the East India Company drove him out of Bengal in July 1763.[81] Mīr Ja'ffar was summoned back from Calcutta to rule over Marshidabad, but he died early in 1765.

Mīr Kasim sought the help of the *Nawab* of Oudh to regain his government from the English, but their united forces were utterly defeated at the battle of Buxer, in 1764, which firmly settled Company rule over Bengal and also placed Oudh at the mercy of the Company.

Prince Ali Gauhar, later to become Emperor Shah 'Alām, had fled in 1759 from the confusion in Delhi and found a refuge in Oudh. He was now hoping to strengthen his position by occupying Bihar, Orissa and Bengal; but the battle of Buxer had placed his host, the *Nawab* of Oudh, at the mercy of the English. He was eager to seek the help of the English and ready to use his nominal power for bargaining.

Accordingly, on August 12, 1765, a treaty was signed which granted the Company the right of collecting the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Company thus became the emperor's revenue agent for these provinces, paying him in return a lump sum of 260,000 pounds per annum. Exiled from Delhi, Ali Gauhar resided at Allahabad for the next six years. Here he was in close touch with the English, being practically their puppet, as earlier he had been the puppet of Oudh, and was later to become the puppet of the Marathas. His *farmans*, for what they were worth, were at the disposal of the English, who used them to regularize all of their shadowy deals.

Rise of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Nadir Shah was murdered in Persia on June 10, 1747. Much of his wealth and many of his soldiers passed into the hands of Ahmad Shah Abdali, his favorite general, who had himself crowned king on June 12, claiming the heritage of Nadir Shah. Abdali captured Kabul and then Peshawar. Leaving Peshawar about the middle of December, 1747, he crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats and arrived near Lahore on January 8, 1748. Hayātullāh Khan, the imperial governor of Lahore, considered the city untenable and fled. The capture of Lahore more than doubled the strength of the Afghan invader.

After leaving Lahore, Abdali forded the Satlaj and Ludhiana and pushed on to Sirhind. A pitched battle was fought between the Moghul forces and the Afghans on March 11, 1748 at Manupur and the Abdali forces were utterly routed. However, Abdali was too shrewd to admit defeat at the hands of the emperor, whose power was clearly waning and continued to wage war.

In 1748 Emperor Muhammad Shah died and his son Ahmad Shah (1748-1754) was proclaimed emperor without any opposition. During his reign Najīb-ud-Daulah, a Pathan soldier, became very prominent in the Moslem struggle for survival. Rising from the command of a sergeant's guard, he distinguished himself by courage and activity, obtained the northern districts in the partition of Rohelkhand, and was also entrusted with the districts of Bijnaur as a *jagīr* or military fief.[23]

In 1753 Najīb-ud-Daulah was sent to take charge of the country around Saharanpur, known in those days as the "fifty-two *paraganas*." This tract continued, for several generations, to form the territory of Najīb-ud-Daulah's family. Though not without greediness and a desire for personal aggrandisement, Najīb-ud-Daulah was superior to the majority of Moslem nobles of his time. He was active, hard working, reliable and a capable administrator. He ruled over the dwindling

empire for nine years, and died a peaceful death, leaving his estates to his son and the Government of Delhi in a satisfactory condition, ready to be taken over by the lawful monarch.[83]

To appreciate Najīb-ud-Daulah's role we ought to observe the expansion of the Hindu power in Delhi and the Punjab. In August 1757, a large Maratha army under Raghūnāth Rao arrived near Delhi. They came as the ally of the *wazīr*, 'Imād-ul-Mūlk, who was jealous of the rising influence of Najīb-ud-Daulah.[84] In order to extirpate his rival, the *wazīr* did not hesitate to invite the foes of all Moslems to overrun the capital of Moslem power. They succeeded in taking away Najīb-ud-Daulah's *jagīr* of Saharanpur, which encouraged them to plan the invasion of the Punjab. For four months the Marathas roved through the country around Delhi plundering the markets and exacting tribute from the landowners.

In February 1758, the Maratha invasion of the Punjab began. Lahore fell to their onslaught without much resistance and the province up to the Chenab was brought under their effective control by April. Tamūr Shah, the son of Abdali, fled to Kabul. The Marathas first tried to rule the Moslem province with the aid of a mercenary soldier, Adina Beg, but he died shortly. At the beginning of 1759, the Maratha governor Sabaji Sindhia took over the government of the Punjab.[85] The Maratha conquest of Lahore alarmed all far-sighted Moslem nobles. They realized that if they failed to deal the Marathas a crushing blow at this time, their dominions would eventually be swallowed up. Never was the prospect of Hindu domination so imminent and real as in 1758. It is here that Najīb-ud-Daulah played an important role.

At the beginning of Abdali's campaigns against the Moghul empire, the Moslem nobles remained aloof from him. Abdali was not concerned with the welfare or the political problems of the Moslems in India. During his first six raids he indiscriminately robbed and plundered Moslems and Hindus alike. However, the Maratha conquest of the Punjab appeared to the Moslems as a prelude to the conquest of Delhi and their final decline in India. Abdali appeared as the lesser of the two evils. Without his aid the Indian Moslems could easily fall prey to Maratha swords. Abdali on his part was angered at the Marathas' expulsion of his son, Tamūr Shah, from Lahore. Without the help of the Indian Moslems, including Najīb-ud-Daulah and Shuja-ud-Daulah (the *Nawab* of Oudh), Abdali could not settle his account with the Marathas.

Najīb-ud-Daulah asked Abdali to come to the aid of the Moslems

and deliver them from Maratha oppression. Because of this request an eminent Hindu historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, has described Najīb-ud-Daulah as a "double-dyed traitor." Sarkar thinks that "Najīb-ud-Daulah was incapable of patriotism, because India was not his *patria*."[86] This opinion betrays an utter lack of understanding of the Moslem mind in the middle of the eighteenth century. Sarkar would have favored Hindu *swaraj* under the Marathas and could not comprehend the Moslem nobles who sought the assistance of a foreign Moslem power to maintain and safeguard their own freedom.

Najīb-ud-Daulah's policy of collaboration with Abdali had the support of the Moslem population of India. In fact his invitation to Abdali was inspired by the advice of Shah Walīullāh, one of the greatest thinkers ever produced by the Moslems of the Indian sub-continent.[87] Shah Walīullāh himself wrote several letters to important Moslem leaders including Ahmad Shah Abdali in which he advised them to forge a united front against the Marathas and their allies, the Jāts. In one of his letters to Ahmad Shah Abdali, Shah Walīullāh criticized the policy of Nadir Shah who returned to Persia after demoralizing the Moslems and leaving the Marathas safe and free. "Thereafter the unbelievers became strong" complained Shah Walīullāh, "and the Moslem forces were disorganized, and the Empire of Delhi became a plaything of children." He urged Abdali to come to the aid of the Indian Moslems and release them as they were "prisoners in the hands of the unbelievers."[88]

Abdali resolved to comply with the request. He invaded the Punjab, utterly routed the Marathas and entered Sirhind in November, 1759. When Abdali crossed the Jamuna river the Moslem nobles of India, Hafiz Rahmet, Sa'adullāh-Khan, Ahmad Khan Bangash, Dondi Khan, and Najīb-ud-Daulah, went in a body to greet him.

Abdali sent his vanguard to attack the troops of the Maratha commanders who were pushed back as far as Agra. A furious battle began and Data Sindhia, the Maratha general, soon realized that, having often fought for victory, he was now to fight for his life. The whole of the mighty army of the Marathas, together with Data Sindhia and every commander without exception, perished in that bloody battle.[89] After the battle Abdali went to Sikanderah (approximately fifty miles from Delhi) and established his winter headquarters there. He sent Najīb-ud-Daulah to Lucknow to invite Shuja-ud-Daulah to join the Moslem army. Najīb-ud-Daulah urged Shuja-ud-Daulah to support Abdali "in his conflict between Islam and Infidelity."[90] They both rode to Abdali's camp, accompanied by Shuja-ud-Daulah's ten thou-

sand horses and artillery, which were by far the strongest in northern India.

When the Maratha court of Satara heard of the disastrous defeat of Data Sindhia, it was at once decided to send another but bigger army—under the command of Sadashiv Rao Bhau, the nephew of Baluji Rao, *Peshwa* of the Satara court, and under the supreme command of Vasvass Rao—"to avenge their former bloody defeat, and to put an end to the empire of the family of Babur, by raising to the throne of Hindūstān Vasvass Rao himself, a royal prince of Maratha blood."[91]

On August 3, 1760, Delhi surrendered to the Marathas. No sooner had the soldiers entered the imperial palace than they started to plunder. An ally of the Maratha general, Sūraj-Mal Jāt, who had come to Delhi with them, was shocked by this spectacle; he quitted the Maratha camp and retired to the fortress of Belam-Gur. Rich and poor alike were plundered and when the Marathas did not find enough booty "they stripped the Imperial Hall of Audience and of its wainscoting, which was of silver, elegantly enamelled, and coined the silver into nine *lakhs* [900,000] of rupees. They had laid their sacrilegious hands upon the gold and silver vessels consecrated to the use of the monument of the sacred foot, and of the mausoleum of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya; nor did they spare Muhammad Shah's mausoleum which they stripped of its gold and exquisite workmanship."[92]

The Maratha general Bhau appointed two commanders, Narra Purandari and Appaji Jadav Rao to maintain law and order in Delhi. They deposed the titular Emperor Shah Jahan II on October 10, 1760 and proclaimed Prince Ali Gauhar Emperor under the title of Shah 'Alām II. They struck coins in his name and installed his eldest son, Mirza Jawan Bakht, in the *Diwan-i-Khas,* as his heir and vicar. They also conferred the *wazirate* on Shuja-ud-Daulah in absentia, in the hope of luring him away from the Moslem alliance.[93]

The sentiments of the Moslems in regard to the impending conflict may be gauged from a letter of Shuja-ud-Daulah to Bhau in which he refused peace with the Marathas. "It was to save their honor, their families, and their subsistences," he wrote, "that the people of Hindūstān had applied to Abdali-king for protection and assistance; and in the full hope that to inflict a just chastisement upon the Marathas would prove but a small affair; to talk, therefore, of peace now to him looked quite preposterous."[94]

The Maratha chief wanted to sow dissension in the Moslem alliance and lure some of the members away with promises of high offices.

He also appealed to the patriotism of the Hindu princes, asking them to help drive the "foreign invaders" out of the Punjab. His plan was to capture Sirhind and join Ala Singh Jāt and other Hindu *zamīndārs* of the cis-Satlaj region. Such a policy required at its very outset the destruction of the Moslem alliance's supply center at Kunjpura. Since the Jamuna was still flooded, Bhau thought that he could foil Abdali's or Najīb-ud-Daulah's attempts to defend the center, which was guarded by 'Abdūs Samad Khan and Mian Qutb Shah. Bhau with his strong force had no difficulty in overcoming the guards. 'Abdūs Samad was shot dead, and Qutb Shah was fatally wounded.[95]

While Bhau halted at Kunjpura, flushed with an easy victory he celebrated the Hindu festival of *dasahra* on October 19, 1760 with great exultation and pomp. On October 25 he started for Kurkshetra, thirty miles to the north. He had covered only half that distance when he learned that Abdali and the members of the Moslem alliance had crossed the Jamuna at Baghpat and arrived at Sonepat two days earlier, thus cutting off his communications with Delhi and the south. Bhau immediately turned back to meet the enemy reaching Panipat on October 29. There he halted in order to learn of the Moslems' position and plans.

Prospects looked grim for Bhau and his army. His lines of communication were cut, food supplies exhausted and the horses and gun cattle were dying by the hundreds. No relief was in sight. His only hope was Govind Ballal (also known as Govind Pandir) who had been ordered to ravage Najīb-ud-Daulah's estates in the Mirat and Bulandshahar districts and to send convoys of grain and treasure to Panipat via Kunjpura. Govind Ballal's advance to Shahdara, opposite Delhi, was unopposed and he sacked half a dozen villages in the Sikanderabad region, but suddenly in the morning of December 17 like a bolt of thunder from a cloudless sky, 5,000 horses led by 'Atāi Khan, Karīmdād Khan and Najīb-ud-Daulah's Captain Karīm Khan, swooped down upon the unsuspecting forces of Govind Ballal.[96] They were completely annihilated; the victors cut off Govind Ballal's head and took it to Abdali, who sent it to Bhau as a triumphant proof of the defeat of his plan. In utter hopelessness Bhau appealed to Shuja-ud-Daulah "to arrange a peace at any price" between him and the Moslem alliance, promising solemnly to abide by any settlement that he might make. For the negotiations Shuja-ud-Daulah received as his credentials a piece of paper with the imprint of Bhau's hand dipped in saffron. Abdali's *wazīr*, Shah Walī Khan, a soft-hearted man was willing to accept a large ransom from Bhau, but in the council

chamber Najīb-ud-Daulah rejected his advice.[97] His sympathies were with the soldiers in the Moslem alliance "who refused to lose this opportunity of waging a holy war and slaying infidels on a gigantic scale, which would give them measureless spiritual merit." Abdali answered the appeal of Bhau with an order to his colleagues: "Recite the prayers for battle; the idea of peace is given up."[98]

On the night of January 14, 1761, none of the Maratha leaders slept. An hour before dawn they set out with their army to the field of Panipat to attack Shuja-ud-Daulah and Najīb-ud-Daulah's forces who advanced to the encounter supported by Abdali in person. Vasvass Rao, the heir of the Maratha empire, was hit by a musket ball and although Bhau finally called in his reserves, the Marathas were beaten. The Moslem soldiers started a general massacre, putting seventy-five thousand Marathas to the sword; some twenty-two thousand saved their lives by paying ransom. "The field of battle looked like a tract sown with tulips, and as far as the sight could extend, nothing could be discovered but dead bodies."[99] Panipat is rightly known as the graveyard of the Maratha bid for a powerful Hindu empire in India.

Abdali returned to Delhi with his victorious allies, where Shah 'Ālām was reinstated as emperor. The office of *wazīr* was given to Shuja-ud-Daulah and the title of amīr-ul-Umrā' (Prince of Princes) to Najīb-ud-Daulah. Abdali recommended the two princes to each other, exhorted them to be friendly and decreed that Najīb-ud-Daulah should reside in Agra to take care of Mirza Jāwān Bakht, with injunctions to send as soon as possible for Shah 'Ālām, who was then waging a war in Bengal. Abdali exhorted every noble to submit to the emperor.[100]

Ahmad Shah Abdali wished to establish peace among all the powers of India. He himself would keep the Punjab from the Satlaj westwards and content himself with an annual tribute of four million rupees for the rest of the Moghul empire, payable by the minister who would wield the regency of Delhi.[101] In short, Abdali's sole interest in India was to get his tribute punctually year after year. It was therefore necessary for him that the *status quo* be maintained, the Ruhela Pathans protected from molestation in the Ruhelkhand and the Marathas persuaded to come to terms with Shah 'Ālām. "The Marathas' failure to do so shows that they had not a single statesman among them and by trying to grasp all they were destined to lose all in the end."[102] Such a policy of "live and let live" demanded a gigantic

sacrifice from the Hindus. They had not yet learned to contain their national aspirations.

Moslem nobility did not properly appreciate the far-reaching impact of resurgent Hindu nationalism. Only the Moslem *'ulamā'* led by Shah Walīullāh of Delhi and his disciples understood the unlimited ambitions of the Hindus. They also realized that the imperial house was no longer sagacious and virile enough to protect the Moslem nation from spiritual and physical destruction.

The Marathas tried once again to establish a Hindu empire in 1789 when they re-conquered Delhi. However, this time their ambitions were frustrated by the British, to whom they lost the empire in 1803. If the Marathas had respected the balance of power as it was established after Panipat, India might have been spared the events of the next century and a half. We may now turn to the thinkers and spiritual leaders of the Moslem nation, who gave shape and content to what we call today Pakistani nationalism.

Chapter V

RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM

Shah Walīullāh. The general political chaos that resulted from the disintegration of the Moslem political power was bound to affect all phases of national life—social, ethical, and religious. It inspired thinkers like Shah Walīullāh to attempt a revitalization of Islamic values and the Moslem nation in India.

Shah Walīullāh states in his autobiography, *Juz'al-Latīf fī Tarjamat al-'Abd al-za'īf* (An Elegant Chapter in the life of the Creature) that he was "born on Wednesday, the 4th of Shawwāl in the 14th year of the 12th century *Hijra* [February 21, 1703] near the time of sunrise," in Delhi. Some friends of the family, says Shah Walīullāh, found the chronogram of his birth in the name 'Azīm al-Din (eminent in reli- = 1115 A.H.)[1] His father, Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm was well-known for his piety and profound knowledge of Islam. Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm's father, Shaikh Wajī-ud-Din, held a respectable position in the administration of Emperor Aurangzeb and was financially well off.

An ancestor of Shah Walīullāh, Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Mufti, had migrated from Arabia to India and settled in Rohtak, thirty miles west of Delhi, probably in the later part of the Delhi Sultanate. Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Mufti very soon adapted himself to the new surroundings and established a *madressa* (school) for the teaching of the Qur'an and the *Hadith.* According to a *tadhkira*-writer, there were thirteen generations between Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Mufti and Shah Walīullāh, most of them noted for their learning and elevated position.[2]

Although it is not known when this family moved from Rohtak to Delhi, it is certain that Shah Walīullāh's grandfather Shaikh Wajī-ud-Din was born in Delhi. He was not only a learned man, but a professional soldier who fought in the camp of Aurangzeb during the latter's struggle for the throne of Delhi. He also fought against the Marathas in Aurangzeb's prolonged campaigns in the Deccan. Shah Walīullāh, describing his grandfather's accomplishments in *Maāsir-al-Ajdād,* remarks that "he was noted for his bravery and his excellence in religion."[3]

Shah Walīullāh's father, Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm, unlike his grandfather, was a *sufi* (mystic), who had no ambition to win recognition

among the court *'ulamā'*. Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm had just finished his formal education when Emperor Aurangzeb decreed the codification of canon law known as *Fātawā-i-'Alāmgirī*, entrusting this responsible work to a number of *fūq'ha* (doctors of canon law). Among these a friend of Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm, Shaikh Hamid, was prominent. The latter wanted to enlist the services of Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm in return for a daily allowance. Evidently after the death of Shaikh Wajī-ud-Din the family was in financial difficulty. Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm's mother urged her son to accept the offer, which he did. However, neither he nor his *sufi* teacher, Shaikh Abu-al-Kasim, relished the prospect of imperial employment. When Emperor Aurangzeb saw the list of *fūq'hā*, he struck off the name of Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm, indicating instead that the *Shaikh* should be offered land for his family's maintenance. Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm declined the imperial offer with thanks.[4] Aurangzeb, who had a legalistic approach to religious matters, evidently did not like the presence of a mystically inclined *faqhī* in his legal department. Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm continued teaching students in the *Madressa Rahīmiā*, which he had established in Delhi.

Shah Walīullāh was educated by his father. He was hardly five years old when he was admitted to a *maktab* (elementary school). At the age of seven he started saying the daily prayers and his father urged him to observe the fasts in the month of Ramadān. At this time he had finished the Qur'an and had begun to read Persian books and treatises. Shah Walīullāh was a precocious child, whom nature had endowed with unusual intellectual potentialities. Under the guidance of his father, he was initiated into his mystic order. "It was in the fifteenth year of my age," he says, "that I became a disciple of my father and devoted myself to occupations of the *sufi*, especially those of the Naqshbandiya order.[5] I studied *tawajjuh* (meditation), *talqīn* (instruction), the conduct of religious rites, and, putting on the garment of the *sufi*, I learned a portion of the Baizāvī[6] the same year."

Shah Walīullāh never developed an extremist outlook towards the various disciplines of Islamic learning. This he owed largely to his father's training, which allowed him to drink deeply at the fountains of *fiqh* and sufiism. He revelled in the ecstasies of mystic feeling, yet never allowed himself to lose touch with the business of living.

Shah Walīullāh's education was comprehensive; there is not any discipline of Islamic learning in which he did not excel. "In my fifteenth year I completed my studies in all the current subjects in accordance with the custom of this country. As to *Hadith* (traditions

of the Prophet) I studied the whole of *Mishkāt*,[7] and a portion of *Sahih-i-Bukhārī*[8] up to the Book of Cleanliness, and I listened[9] to the reading of the whole of *Shamā'il al-Nabī*[10] by others." Shah Walīullāh attended his father often during the reading of the holy Qur'an, dwelling on the meaning of each section and the manner in which it was revealed to the Prophet. "As to *Tafsīr* (commentary on the Qur'an) I studied a portion of *Tafsīr-i-Baizāvī* and a portion of *Tafsīr-i-Madārik*. With regard to fiqh (jurisprudence) I studied the whole of *Sharh-i-Wiqāya*,[11] and *Hidāya*,[12] except a small portion of each; of *usūl-i-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence) *Husām*,[13] and a portion of *Tawzīh*,[14] and *Talwīh*;[15] of logic, the whole of *Sharh-i-Shamsīya*,[16] and a portion of *Sharh-i-Matāli'*;[17] of *kalām*, (scholastic theology) the whole of *Sharh-i-'Aqā'id*,[18] with portions of *Khayālī*,[19] and *Sharh-i-Mawāqif*,[20] a portion only of *sulūk* (sufiism), a portion of *'Awārif*,[21] and a portion of *Risāla-i-Naqshbandiya*[22] etc., of *haqā'iq* (mysticism), *Sharh-i-Rubā'iyāt Mawlana Jāmī*[23] and the introduction of *Sharh-i-lam'āt*[24] and *Naqd al-Nusūs*;[25] of *khawās asmā'* and *āyāt* (properties of divine names and verses of the Qur'an) the whole of *Mi'at-i-Fawā'id*, and a special collection of my father."[26]

Shah Walīullāh's training was not confined to the variety of theological disciplines. At the age of fifteen he was equally well-versed in the humanities. "In regard to *tib* (medical science)" he says, "I studied *Mūjizal-Qānūn*;[27] of *hikmat* (philosophy), *Sharh-i-Hidāya-i-Hikmat*[28] and others; of *nahv*, (syntax) *Kāfiya*[29] and Mulla's commentary thereon; of rhetoric, the *Mutawwal*[30] of *Mukhtasar-i-Ma'ānī*,[31] the portion annotated by Mulla Zada;[32] and of astronomy and mathematics, several small treatises.[33] At this stage his father allowed him to instruct others. It must have been an occasion of great rejoicing for the 72-year-old Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahīm, who could now feel that he had a capable heir in *Madressa Rahīmiā*. The day Shah Walīullāh was elevated to the position of a teacher was celebrated with festivities. "My venerable father had prepared ample food and had invited the gentry and the public, and offered *fatiha*[34] (introductory prayers), when he permitted me to teach others."[35] He was in his 17th year when his father—friend, philosopher, and teacher—died at the age of 77. On his death-bed he permitted Shah Walīullāh the *bai'a* (initiating others in Sufiism), *irshād* (spiritual teaching), and repeated the expression "his hand is my hand."

After the death of his father Shah Walīullāh devoted 12 years to the teaching of religious and intellectual disciplines in Delhi, observing the disruptive forces at work in the Moslem nation of post-Aurangzeb

India. The Moslem nobility was split into factions along ethnic lines while the violence between Shi'a and Sunni was equally destructive. The long, settled and prosperous life of the Moslems had made them indolent and unable to stand on their own feet in times of crisis. They looked on military service as a hateful obligation. Aurangzeb had ruled for 50 long years. In the next 50 years, which comprised the major part of Shah Walīullāh's life, 10 puppet Moghul sovereigns occupied the throne of Delhi. This period of political and social disintegration stood in glaring contrast to the relative stability and vigor of the Aurangzeb era. The social decay was intensified by the growth of Hindu nationalism, spearheaded by the Marathas of the south. The Marathas were making annual raids on Delhi, and during Shah Walīullāh's time, briefly occupied that city.

Shah Walīullāh was convinced that Islam and the Moslems of India were entering upon a new and critical era, not only politically, but also, and perhaps because of this, spiritually. The spirit of Islam which had animated their forefathers to found civilizations was moribund in India. The sterile intellectual atmosphere had infected the Islamic-based socio-political laws of the state. The task of the thinker was to re-interpret Islamic values without breaking with the past. The poet-philosopher of Pakistan, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, rightly points out that the first Moslem to feel the "urge of a new spirit in him" was Shah Walīullāh.[86]

This is precisely what makes Shah Walīullāh a thinker *sui generis* in the entire history of traditional Islam. Islam had produced great masters of individual disciplines before him. In specific spheres they had perhaps excelled Shah Walīullāh. However, none before him had attempted a *tatbīq* (integration) of the total Islamic structure.[87] The basic function of *tatbīq* was to render the value structure of Islam elastic. Obviously, *tatbīq* can have a narrow or wide meaning, depending on its application. It can be interpreted within the frame of references of the traditional schools, i.e. the four schools of the Sunni sect,[88] Hanafi, Shāfi'ī, Mālikī and Hanbalī, or it can be applied to the total structure of Islam. Shah Walīullāh adopted the second method. Speaking of his interpretation of *tatbīq*, he says, "the greatest gift in me is that I was vested with the robes of invention." He was conscious of the far-reaching impact of his reformation, because he asserts that "the success of subsequent ages is made through my hands."[89] Shah Walīullāh can be said to have been, in a basic sense, the founder of modern Islam in India. Indeed, as we shall see later,

the first modern thinker of the Moslem nation in India, Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan was the spiritual heir of Shah Walīullāh.[40]

Shah Walīullāh probably did not undertake the task of reformation until he had returned on July 3, 1732, from a two-year stay in Arabia and a pilgrimage to Mecca. "In Medina," he points out, "I had the good fortune of attending the narration of the *Hadiths* by Shaikh Abu Tahir and by other revered persons of the holy place."[41] Although he does not mention the names of other *'ulamā'* with whom he studied he is known to have attended the lectures of Shaikh Muhammad Wafd Ullāh al-Maghribī, who was a renowned scholar of *Hadith* and enjoyed the respectable status of *Shaikh-al-Hadith*.[42] Another outstanding learned man whose lectures Shah Walīullāh attended was Shaikh Tāj-al-Din. Shah Walīullāh obtained a *saned* (certificate) for his knowledge in Bukhārī's *Hadiths,* and won the *Shaikh's* admiration for his knowledge of theology.

Nevertheless, he only proclaimed himself the disciple of Shaikh Abu Tahir. "I put on the all-comprising gown of Shaikh Abu Tahir, which may be said to comprehend all of the garments of the Sufis."[43] During his stay in Mecca and Medina, he developed his philosophy regarding religious and political matters and also studied the conditions prevailing in the Ottoman Empire. There is ample evidence in the letters he wrote back home, that he was disturbed to observe a socio-political decline in the life of the Moslems everywhere.[44]

How he wanted to accomplish the "success of posterity through his hands" is vividly described by Shah Walīullāh in *Fuyuz-al-Harāmāin,* a work completed during his sojourn in Arabia. "On Friday, Zil'Qadah 21, 1144 A.H., I dreamt in Mecca," he says "that God has chosen me an intermediary to establish a new order in my age. I saw that the leader of the infidels has occupied the Moslem cities, and has plundered the belongings of the [Moslem] citizens. In a city like Ajmer the laws of Islam are no longer enforced, instead the writ of the infidels is run."[45] This is an allusion to the general degradation and massacre of the Moslems in Ajmer and Sirhind by the Sikhs of Bandah, which is described in the previous chapter. The ascendency of the infidels filled him with indignation, expressed in the following dream: "My indignation at the depredation of the infidels also affected a great crowd that gathered around me for instruction and guidance. The people asked me the way to achieve the grace of God, and I answered: destroy the worn out socio-political order! People followed me till we reached Ajmer and here I saw that the people slaughtered the leader of the infidels."[46]

The interpretation of this dream is not difficult; the key phrase being his instruction to the Moslems in India to destroy the decayed political system. Shah Walīullāh knew that the Moghul Empire was trembling like a house of cards and that no power could resuscitate it. Therefore he addressed himself directly to the Moslems in India. For the purpose of analysis we can divide his reforms into two categories: theological and socio-economic. Since the latter are derived from theological propositions, it is logical to start with Shah Walīullāh's theological reforms.

Religious Reformation. Moslems had generally accepted the concepts of the four popular schools of Islamic Law as final, even though the founders of these schools had never made such claims for their reasonings and interpretations. As a result, although the circumstances under which these four schools of thought were founded had changed, the laws remained the same. Shah Walīullāh went back to the original sources of Islamic law, the Qur'an and *Hadith.* He stressed a rational reinterpretation of Islamic thought to make it acceptable to the new age. Although he was aware of the limitations of human reasoning in religious matters, he pointed out that Islam would not be understood by believers and appreciated by others unless it was presented in a rational way. In relating his spiritual experiences he records that "I was informed through *ilhām* (inspiration) that I would have to undertake this responsibility . . . The time has come when every injunction of the *Sharī'a* and the general instruction of Islam should be presented to the world in a rational manner." [47]

He exhorted the Moslems to free themselves from the blind accepance of the four schools of law and advised them to go back to the Qur'an and the Apostolic traditions and on this basis formulate a new legal system which would be more in harmony with the spirit and needs of their time and cultural background. During 1737-1738, in pursuance of this object he translated the Qur'an into Persian,[48] the literary language of his day. This was considered detrimental to the economic interests of the orthodox *'ulamā'.* They heaped all kinds of abuse on him and even threatened him with death.[49]

In the history of Islam (with the exception of Ibn Tumārth's translation) there had never been a translation of the Qur'an into a foreign language. The average Moslem believed that the sanctity and authenticity of the Qur'an containing God's message can be preserved only if it is studied in the original Arabic. The sensitivity of this problem can be judged from the fact that as late as 1928 when the

well-known Moslem convert Marmaduke Pickthal undertook the English translation of the Qur'an he sought the advice of the *'ulamā'* of *Al-Azhar,* the oldest Moslem university in Egypt. Instead of encouraging such an undertaking, the *'ulamā'* declared that the translator, the readers and all those who approved of this "were condemned to everlasting perdition."[50]

It should not be thought that Shah Walīullāh advocated utter disregard for the traditional schools of law. His approach was analytical; he did not emphasize the issues on which the schools differed, but those on which they agreed. When he accepted the interpretation of one school he based this acceptance on the criterion of reason. In fact a commentator remarks that sometimes Shah Walīullāh superficially appears to be a follower of the Shāfi'ī school, sometimes Mālakī, sometimes Hanbalī, and another time Hanafī.[51] Here his principle of *tatbīq* is illustrated as he tries to strike a *modus vivendi* between the different schools of law. When he fails to find a common denominator he relies upon his reasoning.[52] In order to synthesize the basic principles of the four schools he wrote a treatise entitled *al-Insāf fī Bayān Sabab al-Ikhtilāf,*[53] in which he also traces their historical background.

The socio-political conditions of the Moslem nation in India called for an attempt at integration. A sectarian bias in theological discourses would have further splintered the Moslems, who were already divided between the Sunnis and Shi'as and along ethnic lines which cut across their sectarian denominations. Shah Walīullāh wrote *Izālat al-Khifā an Khilāfat al-Khulafā* to eliminate the active hostility between the Shi'as and the Sunnis. How bitter was their animosity can be gathered from the fact that his close friend, Mirza Mazher Jānjanān, (the famous Urdu sufi poet), a Sunni, was assassinated in Delhi at the instigation of Najf Ali Khan,[54] the Shi'a chief minister in the later part of the reign of Shah 'Alām II. The Sunnis were no less antagonistic to the Shi'as, especially during the days of their ascendency at the Moghul Court. Shah Walīullāh tried to provide a sense of balance in the poisoned atmosphere of Delhi. When some militant Sunnis tried to force him to brand the Shi'as as heretics he refused to do so.[55]

Shah Walīullāh's interpretation of *tatbīq* strongly recommends the application of *ijtihād* (exercise of independent judgment), as opposed to the principle of imitation followed in the four traditional schools. He considered *ijtihād* obligatory for theological thinkers, because each age presents new problems and new situations, which were not envisaged by the lawmakers of bygone days. In the seventh section of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* Shah Walīullāh discussed in detail the intel-

lectual and scholastic requirements of a *mujtahid* (jurist), and the general principles of *ijtihād*.[56] In this sphere he is cautious, distinguishing between relative and absolute *ijtihād*.

The Universalism of Islam and Local Problems. Within the frame of reference of Islam, Shah Walīullāh distinguished between a pure universal religion, a set of spiritual principles formulated on a definite pattern and the local Arabian coloring. Unlike the *'ulamā'* who would not consider the exigencies of a particular area or a particular age, he viewed Islam in a wider and broader context, interpreting it in terms of time and place. He thought that Islam, which was propagated originally by Arabs, must necessarily be colored by their tradition and way of life. The fact that Islam will undergo certain changes in different cultures was overlooked by orthodox *'ulamā'*. Discussing the nature of the Apostolic Tradition, Shah Walīullāh divides traditions into those of legal and non-legal character.[57] A very important question with regard to the former is how far they embody pre-Islamic usages of Arabia. In some cases pre-Islamic folkways were left intact, in others they were modified by the Prophet. It is difficult to ascertain particular instances, for the early writers do not always refer to pre-Islamic usages, nor is it possible to determine what usages were left intact by express or tacit approval of the Prophet.[58] In order to pinpoint the nature of the problem Shah Walīullāh gives the following examples: the grandfather of the Prophet, 'Abd-al-Muttalib, the *Shaikh* of the Quraysh, had fixed ten camels as compensation of a murder. When he realized that people did not refrain from murdering, he increased the number of camels to one hundred. The Prophet Muhammad upheld and maintained this judgment.

The Arabs retained with few modifications the system of administration which they had inherited from the Sassanids; the early Arab tax system was virtually the same as the Sassanian.[59] As an example Shah Walīullāh mentions that Kobad, who ascended the Sassanid throne in 487, and his son Noshīrwān, who succeeded his father in 531, used to exact the *'ushr* (a tithe), and *kharāj* (from Greek *choregia* or Aramaic *keragga*) from their subjects. The *Sharī'a* maintained these institutions with slight changes

Even upon superficial examination we discover in Islam well-defined institutions closely resembling those present in Judaism and Christianity. Nowhere is the influence of the Old Testament on Islam greater than in its penal system, which was adopted from Judaic practices with all their severity and practically without modification.

It was the practice in Israel to stone a fornicator, cut off the hand of a thief and take life for life and an eye for an eye. The *Sharī'a* neither amended nor annuled them.[60] Shah Walīullāh indicated that there are numerous such examples and one would have very little difficulty in collecting them.

In discussing the ways in which a prophet deals with the mores of a society, he says that "with regard to mores *(irtafāqāt)*, a prophet is guided by the habits and folkways of the nation in which he is born, for instance, eating habits, dress fashions and customs of personal embellishment. He also takes into consideration the ceremonies of marriage and divorce, manners of buying and selling and the factors to which they pay attention in their transactions. He studies their current penal system and other matters dealing with the dispensation of justice. He scrupulously tries to keep intact whatever is compatible with the general moral principles and modifies the rest as little as possible; in fact he inculcates the strict observance of them."[61] Carrying his reasoning to its logical culmination, he adds: "I hope he who possesses a wider outlook will agree with me, that in prescribing what may be called religious practices *(ibādāt)*, a prophet follows the same principle: he adopts those religious practices which are already in vogue, or are analagous to them."[62]

Shah Walīullāh contends that the adoption of existing modes of prayers and folkways respects the natural patterns of the people. He points out that, for instance, a person who is born blind dreams neither of color nor figures; because he would be incapable of doing so. Similarly, if knowledge is revealed to an Arab, the medium of instruction or the vehicle of thought would naturally be Arabic. The *Sharī'a* follows the same principles. Only such laws and injunctions are enforced which are within the frame of reference of a given people.

He elaborates at much greater length the selective process of the Shari'a, and provides examples to render his point sufficiently clear. For instance, according to Islamic Law a Moslem is forbidden to marry a niece, whereas this was permitted among the Jews.[63] The reason for this difference lies in the mores of both people. Arabs looked upon their nephews and nieces as members of their own tribe while Jews regarded them as members of a different tribe.

In summing up the Apostolic tradition, Shah Walīullāh points out that a prophet's code of law should appeal to the common sense of reasonable people everywhere who despite different habits and social practices would at once accept it as a natural religion. Secondly, in

the formulation of *Sharīʿa,* a prophet should keep in view the cultural background, the mental attitudes and social usages of his contemporary society. He also stressed that scope should be provided for future development: "There should be imposed no unnecessary limitation on the future generations, and on those living in other areas (with different cultural background and social and legal practices), nor should there be any attempt to frame hard and fast rules for imposing on them these codes in detail."[64] This was a very liberal interpretation of Islamic social and religious laws, making it possible to adapt fundamental Islamic principles to the social, cultural and political characteristics in Pakistan today. In fact an Islamic blend of multiple cultures could be directly deduced from Shah Walīullāh's thinking.[65]

Raison d'être of the Prophet Muhammad. Shah Walīullāh does not view the role of the Prophet Muhammad merely as that of a moral preacher. He believes that the Prophet was destined to play an important part in the political life of his time: "At the advent of the Prophet Muhammad, there were only two organized and civilized states, i.e. the Roman and Persian Empires, whose rulers were known as Caesars and *chosroes* respectively. The former empire included Syria and Rome; Egypt and North Africa were its feudatory States. The Persian Empire included Iraq, the provinces of Yemen and Khurrasan; and the states of Central Asia and those bordering on India owed allegiance to it."[66] The conquest of the two empires would have been tantamount to the conquest of the entire world. Since their socio-political systems were emulated by the dependencies, a spiritual reformation in the Roman and Persian Empires would have automatically included the vassal states.

Both empires reached the zenith of glory, and then, Shah Walīullāh says they sunk into the lewdness of luxurious life. It is said that a noble whose "*cummerband* (belt) cost less than one thousand dinars, was looked down upon by the nobility. The members of nobility would settle for nothing except a magnificent palace with spacious lawns and courtyards, Turkish baths and the paraphernalia of luxurious living. This grand style of living could not be maintained without enormous financial resources. Therefore, the kings, the princes and the feudatory rulers oppressed their subjects, merchants and other trading classes with taxes."[67]

Shah Walīullāh maintains that the oppressed classes had only two alternatives; either to rise "with a sword of revolt in their hand," or to live the degraded and debased life of chattel. Since they were

unorganized, they could not possibly think of open revolt. Their rights were trampled under foot by the nobility; body and soul were kept together only because their services were needed by the masters. "They had no spare time from their servitude; how could they ever think of God."

"This mode of life," according to Shāh Walīullāh, "forced a large section of the populace to engage in unproductive occupations. The upper classes and the middle classes had attached themselves to the government and the performance of military and civil services was considered to be the epitome of civic excellence. They did not care for the efficient functioning of the public administration as long as their own pockets were full."[68]

"The clever sort of people (in these two empires) had become versifiers. They composed poetry in the honor of upper classes and royalty and lived a parasitic existence. Some crafty people commercialized their piety, and took offerings from the simple folk and the functionaries of the state. Instead of relying on their personal merits, (the citizens of Rome and Persia) with a view to achieving the favors of the powers that be, reduced flattery and the servility of their behavior into a fine art."[69]

Shah Walīullāh contends that the divine law of retribution set in when the social, political, and moral life of the Persian and Roman Empires sunk into darkness. God Almighty ordained the Prophet of Arabia whose life had been pure and simple to destroy the two empires. It was the Divine Will that a simple and virile culture should supplant the decayed cultures of the world. He believed that God does not approve either of the pursuit of pleasure in which the civilized nations of Rome and Persia were indulging, nor of the cruelties and savagery of tribal life. "Islam," according to him, "is the *via medium* between the two extremes."[70] In order to create a new Islamic culture, the Prophet broke that most vital Arab bond, Arab kinship, and replaced it by the new bond of Islam, thus converting the Arab tribes into a united nation. God then used the Arab nation to destroy the two powerful and civilized empires of Rome and Persia.[71]

Shah Walīullāh envisages three categories of residents in an Islamic state: (a) those who accept Islam without any reservation, i.e. Moslems, who are the natural citizens; (b) those who obey the laws of Islam, but with mental reservations; (c) those who are professedly infidel, and should be treated as *dhimmis*. This last category should be prevented from causing harm to the society and obliged to pay *jizya*. Neither should they enjoy equality with the Moslems in matri-

mony, nor be appointed to important state positions. He thought that this kind of treatment would ultimately oblige them to accept Islam.[72]

The Islamic state, according to Shah Walīullāh, is created not only to restore balance in the social, spiritual and economic life of society but paves the way to salvation after death.[73] He is not only concerned with the problems of state and society; but with the individual who he believes does not exist merely to suffer pain or enjoy spiritual pleasure. Physical pain is a purifying and corrective process which must be suffered until the person has reached its relative perfection and realized its full potentialities. When that stage is reached the individual will play an active role in the advancement of the general good. He believes in the innate goodness of man. "If you know the psychology *(maylān-i-fitrī)* of the man," asserts Shah Walīullāh, "then remember the fact that his bosom contains an inner enlightenment, by virtue of which man is instinctively attracted toward God, the way things are attracted toward magnetic objects."[74]

After revealing the nature of the individual, Shah Walīullāh explains the Qur'anic doctrine of *taqdīr*, which in the popular mind has degenerated into a form of arbitrary theistic determinism or even pure fatalism called *qismat*. The term *taqdīr*, according to him, means the fulfilment and realization of a person's good potentialities. Individuality is the vessel, so to say, of human values and both of these together constitute what is called the personality. The realization of the total ideals of a personality is its *taqdīr*.[75] In a certain sense *taqdīr* is a deterministic principle because at each stage of development of the individual and the human species a personality has to act within a given context and given potentialities. However, the fulfillment of the potentialities of a certain stage leads to the creation of new potentialities. This means, according to Shah Walīullāh, that *taqdīr* itself changes with the development of each new phase. It is in this context that he accepts the process of evolution in nature. For, he says, at each stage of its development when nature has fulfilled its potentialities, the Creator bestows upon it new possibilities and potentialities.[76]

At the level of human life *taqdīr* takes the form of moral strife and responsibility which Shah Walīullāh calls *taklīf*. Far from saying that moral responsibility is erased by some kind of determinism, he declares that *taqdīr*, in the case of man, means assuming moral responsibility. It is a primary fact of human life that man is capable of choice and endeavor, hence reaps praise or blame, reward or punishment. No amount of explanation of human behavior, according to him, can

obliterate its primary moral character—for this is what it means to be human."[77]

Problems of Moslem Nation in India and Shah Walīullāh's Program. The basic feature of the Prophet's method according to Shah Walīullāh, was to direct statecraft towards the building of a sound, socially just, and healthy society. He analyzed the contemporary Moslem state of Moghul India in the light of this principle:

"After a great deal of observation, I have come to the conclusion that there are two evils responsible for upsetting the equilibrium of our contemporary society: first, a large number of people [evidently Moslems] have abandoned the gainful occupations and have attached themselves to the government.

"The state exchequer has become responsible for their maintenance. Some of them are soldiers; others masquerade as scholars and believe the government owes them a living. The so-called saints and court poets are no less than professional beggars who live off the generosity of the royal house. A large number of people think only of how best they can butter their own bread, irrespective of the fact that the state and society are not the beneficiaries of their services.

"Another equally important evil eating at the vitals of our civilization is the oppressive system of taxation, which hurts most the farmers, manufacturers, craftsmen and commercial classes. No clemency is shown by the state agents in collecting the taxes. The financial woes of the subjects are increasing day by day. A section of the people has been driven to revolt because they no longer could stand the cruelties of the state agents."[78]

Shah Walīullāh admitted the rights of citizenship only for the Moslems, yet he is not oblivious to the rights of the non-Moslems. He maintains that the security of the state and the equilibrium of the society can only be secure if taxes are light and scrupulous regard is paid to individual rights. This is the cardinal principle of statecraft that the state and its functionaries forget at their own peril.

He criticizes with equal impartiality the economic disparity and corruption which prevailed in the imperialistic systems of the Prophet's time and in the decaying Moghul Empire of his own days. In reality he does not see any substantial difference between the debauched life of Rome and Persia and the degenerate mode of living of the Moslem nation in India. He desperately calls for a socio-economic and spiritual reformation within the Moslem nation guided by the following two principles: (1) the Qur'an and the Islamic concepts of man's progress

are the only cures for Moslem society; (2) economic inequality must be eradicated because it leads to social, spiritual and national degeneration; a pauperized society does not create the conditions necessary for the spiritual awakening of the individual.[79]

Discussing the decadent life of Rome and Persia and pinpointing the extent to which they had sunk Shah Walīullāh tells the Moslem nation in India to "look around and watch the degenerate [Moghul] sovereigns, princes and the members of the royalty and nobility. Their lives depict for you the scenes of Rome and Persia."[80] He believes that the greatest tragedy that befell Islam was the transformation of the Caliphate into the institutions of multiple hereditary kingships.[81] He does not look up to the royal Moghul house for guidance and leadership but appeals to and exhorts all classes of Moslems to strengthen and restore their spiritual and national life.

He shows clairvoyance as a national reformer in *Tafhīmāt-i-Illahyā*, a work which deals primarily with the problems of sufiism. It contains ten lengthy lectures full of pragmatic wisdom and addressed to all strata of the Moslem nation in India. Addressing the Moslem sovereigns of India, he takes them to task for neglecting their responsibilities towards the people and for being responsible for the deterioration of law and order causing untold miseries. No one was better qualified than Shah Walīullāh to gauge the decadence of the ten puppet sovereigns who ruled in quick succession after Emperor Aurangzeb. Addressing the *'ulamā'*, he says: "O ye misguided and uninformed people, you have placed full confidence in Greek thinkers and their speculative philosophy; you are caught in a Greek cobweb and you think it is knowledge; whereas knowledge is contained in the Qur'an, and the Apostolic tradition. You are blindly following the juristic preferences (*Istihsān*) of the traditional four schools and you do not remember that the binding and valid commandments are those of God and the Prophet Muhammad."[82]

Shah Waliuallah was perhaps the first thinker who realized that the spirit of the Qur'an is, as Dr. Muhammad Iqbal points out, essentially anti-classical. His revolt against Greek philosophy manifests itself in all categories of his thought and was perhaps partly the reason why he promulgated the principle of *ijtihad* instead of following any of the four schools of Islam.

Shah Walīullāh is brutally straightforward with the so-called "spiritual guides." He exposes their religious and spiritual hypocrisy and tells them frankly that they are only shop-keepers who arrogate to themselves undeserved functions as spiritual leader of the Moslems.

The preachers do not escape his wrath either; Shah Walīullāh calls them bigoted, narrowminded, intolerant and fabricators of false *Hadiths*. In addressing the nobility and upper classes he states: "You are no longer God-fearing people, O ye (Moslem) *ūmarā* of India. You are sunk low and as dogs eat dogs, you devour each other. In this magnificent country the weak are gobbled up and the powerful are feared."[83]

This is a scathing but well deserved indictment of the traditional Moslem leaders in India. Shah Walīullāh turns then to the Moslem soldiers and exhorts them forcefully. "O ye soldiers of Islam," he declares, "you were called to the ranks to wage *jihād* in the name of God Almighty so that you may uphold righteousness and destroy the power of the infidels. Instead foot-soldiery has become your occupation. You are no longer the soldiers of Islam, you are mere mercenaries. The lofty ideals of *jihād* no longer animate your hearts; you are only hired tyrants. How will you face your God on the day of His judgment?"

Finally he addresses the common man: "You have lost your morals, you have lost your courage, your hearts are made of stone and it is Satan that reigns over you. Women are running your affairs [an obvious reference to the roles of Lal Kanwar and Koki Jiu], and you have enslaved womenfolk in your harems. Your mores are tinged with practices that do not conform either to general moral principles or the *Shari'a* of Islam." He condemns those Moslems who were living on state bounties, for because of them the state oppressed the common people with unjust taxation. "You were honorable," maintains Shah Walīullāh, "because you followed Islam. Now you are degraded, because you betrayed Islam."[84] He is equally critical of certain Hindu practices among the neo-Moslems. Through their influence many Hindu usages had spread among Moslems. He reminds them that their superstitious practices are un-Islamic: "Some of the customs have made life impossible for you, for instance, you spend money lavishly on matrimonial affairs and incur huge debts; you consider divorce an evil practice and forbid the widows to remarry. You have abandoned the *Sunna* (practices of the Prophet) as an ideal of human conduct. You forget that the *Sunna* was designed to conform to general moral principles. Neither do you pray to God Almighty for his graces nor do the well-to-do among you pay *zaka* (legal alms) to the needy, nor do you fast during the month of Ramadān. You waste your time in unproductive pursuits. What is more, you live a parasitic existence on the state bounties and the emperors, in order to support you, exact unjust contributions from the subjects."[85]

Shah Walīullāh realized that the renaissance of Islam and Moslem national life could not be effected until the intellectual life of the Moslems was re-oriented. For this purpose he organized a party of *'ulamā'* dedicated to teaching his philosophy to the younger generation. The new party included Mawlana Muhammad Is'hāq Phūlthī, Mawlvi Nūr Ullāh Budhanavi and Mawlana Muhammad Amīn Kashmiri. In order to further spread his teaching, Shah Walīlullāh established several thousand branches of his school in different parts of India. The *madressa* of Naijībabad, the *taki'yā* of Rai Braili in Thatta (Sindh), and the *madressa* of Mulla Muhammad Mu'īn among others, played a leading part in spreading the socio-religious doctrines of Shah Walīullāh.[86]

The *madressa* of Najībabad which was established by Najīb-ud-Daulah, rendered yeoman service in bringing Shah Walīullāh's message to hundreds of thousands of uneducated Moslems. Shah 'Abdūl Azīz, the eldest son of Shah Walīullāh, paying a tribute to the services of Najīb-ud-Daulah, mentions the fact that nine hundred *'ulamā'* were employed by Najīb-ud-Daulah; they were paid from five rupees to five hundred rupees monthly, according to their knowledge and ability.[87]

In Delhi Emperor Muhammad Shah encouraged the educational leadership of Shah Walīullāh. He donated a big palace in the heart of the city for a *Dar-ul-'Ulūm* (advanced institute of learning) which was inaugurated by Shah Walīullāh. The *Dar-ul-'Ulūm* flourished in Delhi as a rallying center for young intellectuals. For almost a century this *Dar-ul-'Ulūm* was the only place in India where the issues concerning the future of the Moslem nation were debated; it was also the only place providing leadership. The *Dar-ul-'Ulūm* was destroyed during the wars of 1857 but the neighborhood is still known by the name of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's *madressa,* where Shah Walīullāh's descendants continued his educational work.

Shah Walīullāh wrote fifty books which deal in religious terms with political and economic problems. He wrote all of them in Persian and Arabic, the literary and educational languages of the day. He probably did not use Urdu for fear that untutored Moslems might misunderstand his unorthodox views.

His schools taught his works and interpreted Islam according to his doctrines. They were quite successful in reforming Moslem thought and conduct and trained young men who may be called religious nationalists. Under the guidance of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz these religious nationalists resorted to *jihād* in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Their goal was the liberation of India and the creation of a caliphal state founded on the principles of Islam as enunciated in Shah Walīullāh's doctrines. Shah Walīullāh died in 1762 and was buried in Delhi. He laid the foundation of a religio-political philosophy that is still alive in Pakistan; in fact he is to Pakistan what Martin Luther is to Germany.

In Islam there are no national churches for each country. However, as Shah Walīullāh himself pointed out, there are historic, linguistic and ethnic differences among the Moslem nations. Each nation, during the course of its history, has produced schools of Islamic thought with which it is now identified. For instance Shi'aism, according to some historians, is a manifestation of Irani national sentiment. Wahabi-ism and Saudi Arabianism are considered to be synonymous. The countries of North Africa, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco are mostly devotees of the Shāfi'ī school. If we appraise the religio-social beliefs of the Moslems in Pakistan today we may say that Shah Walīullāh is their national *Imam.*[8]

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz. Shah Walīullāh was survived by four sons—Shah 'Abdūl Azīz, Shah Rafi-ud-Din, Shah 'Abdūl Qādir and Shah 'Abdūl Ghani. Shah 'Abdūl Azīz, who succeeded his famous father in assuming the educational, spiritual and political leadership of the Moslems, was only 17 years old at the death of Shah Walīullāh. The followers of Shah Walīullāh, however, accepted him as their leader, because he had the intellectual capacity necessary for a leader in those turbulent times. Shah 'Abdūl Azīz completed his education under the guidance of his father's disciples: Mawlana Muhammad Is'hāq and Mawlana Muhammad Amīn Kashmiri instructed him in the intricacies of the hadiths, and Mawlana Nūr Ullāh, his father-in-law, grounded him in Islamic jurisprudence.

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz developed into a scholar of great erudition. According to his own statement he was educated in at least 150 religious and political disciplines. He composed famous poems in Arabic and Persian, though he never claimed to be a professional poet. Students of Urdu literature know that the poet laureate Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahīm Zāwq, at the court of the last Moghul Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar, learned the subtleties of Urdu from Shah 'Abdūl Azīz. In a famous contest with his former teacher, Shah Nasīr, the poet laureate read his *ghazal* (poem) in the *musha'irā* (poetical sym-

posium) with an air of confidence after it had been corrected by Shah 'Abdūl Azīz.[89]

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz found himself confronted by practical problems that needed pragmatic solution. His father had laid the doctrinal foundation of a new socio-religious school designed to guide the Moslem nation. Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's task was to translate this doctrine into decisions on concrete national problems. He also had to create a party of religious nationalists who would not only propagate the philosophy of Shah Walīullāh among the Moslems throughout the country, but restore their spiritual and political vigor.

Shah Walīullāh's reformation had galvanized the elite, but the middle and lower classes had remained virtually untouched. He had discussed socio-political issues in the subtle language of a scholar which could not be appreciated by the common man. It was Shah 'Abdūl Azīz who familiarized the unlettered citizens in the bazaars of Delhi with the philosophy of Shah Walīullāh. For sixty long years the city of Delhi resounded with Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's lectures. He employed simple, attractive and idiomatic Urdu which not only conveyed the message of his father but served as a model of literary language and rhetoric. People from all over the subcontinent flocked to hear him.

He lectured twice a week until the last days of his life in the compound of the old *madressa* in the Kucha Chellān of Delhi. Shortly before his death, when he was stricken with illness and was too weak to stand up, he had two persons support him on the pulpit so that he might deliver his message. There was hardly a village or town without one of his disciples. He was loved and respected by high and low alike.

Since he did not conceive of his role as that of a "national Imam", as his father did, he confined his works mostly to explaining his father's intricate doctrines. Interpreting *Fath al-Rahmān,* Shah Walīullāh's commentary on the Qur'an, he wrote *Fath al-Azīz,* which is easily understood. To reduce the doctrinal differences between the Shi'a and the Sunni Moslems Shah Walīullāh had written *Āzalā tūl-Khofā;* in the same vein Shah 'Abdūl Azīz wrote *Tohfā-i-Ithna 'Asharīyā.*[90] Shah 'Abdūl Azīz also discussed at length the doctrine of *ghayba* (absence) of the Imam in the Shi'a school, which diverted the attention of the Shi'as from the political realities of the day.[91] The Sunnis, who lived in Shi'ite principalities in India like Oudh, were also affected. They were forever waiting for the return of *al-Mahdi* (the Messiah) who would deliver them from the bondage of the

"infidels". Shah 'Abdūl Azīz exhorted them to dispel their gloom and take the reins of their destiny into their own hands.[92]

In order to direct the affairs of the Moslem nation, Shah 'Abdūl Azīz organized the intelligentsia, which included among others his three younger brothers—Mawlana Rafi-ud-Din, Mawlana 'Abdūl Qādir and Mawlana 'Abdūl Ghani. Other outstanding leaders among the young intellectuals were Mawlana Muhammad Isma'īl Shahīd, Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī, Mawlana Muhammad Is' hāq (the grandson of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz), and Mawlana Muhammad Ya'qūb. Another outstanding person, who later became the leader of this group both in the field of battle and of ideas, was Saiyad Ahmad Shadīd[93] whose unusual story is told in the next chapter. These leaders tried to alert the Moslems to the impending political disaster, exhorting them to rise up to the occasion. They propagated the same religio-political philosophy which Shah Walīullāh had spread a generation before. For the educated classes Mawlana Rafi-ud-Din wrote *Isrār-al-Mahibtā, Takmīl-al-*Azhān and other treatises. In order to bring the philosophy of the Qur'an closer to the Moslem masses, Mawlana Rafi-ud-Din translated the Qur'an into idiomatic Urdu. To explain some of the intricate theological concepts of Shah Walīullāh, Mawlana Muhammad Isma'īl Shahīd wrote *'Abkāt.* In this work he compared the doctrines of Mujaddid Alf Thani and Shaikh Mohy-ud-Din Ibn Arabi with the philosophy of Shah Walīullāh, establishing the superiority of the latter. Mawlana 'Abdūl Qādir also translated the Qur'an into Urdu but his style was more literary than that of his brother. It is noteworthy that India's Urdu-speaking Moslems were introduced to the Qur'an in their own language for the very first time near the end of the eighteenth century, thanks to Mawlana 'Abdūl Qādir and Mawlana Rafi-ud-Din. Similarly the Apostolic traditions were presented to the Moslems for the first time in Urdu when Mawlana Muhammad Is'hāq translated the *Mishkāt.*[94]

The political objective of these leaders was the reestablishment of the Moslem state as conceived by Shah Walīullāh. A government which provided economic equality for all citizens would supplant the decayed Moghul regime.[95] They faced formidable opponents: the Marathas in the south, Sikhs in the Punjab and the British who were to overthrow all. During the lifetime of Shah Walīullāh, the Moghul sovereign Shah 'Alām had already become a puppet in the hands of the East India Company behind a hollow facade of Delhi independence. No such illusion existed in the days of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz. A British resident-general occupied an all-powerful and commanding

position in Delhi and everyone knew who were the real rulers of the country.

Oppression of the Moslems. The Punjab, that reservoir of sturdy Moslem soldiers, lay prostrate before the Sikh nation whose rule was avowedly anti-Moslem. The annual marauding expeditions of the Marathas in the south and the Sikh depredations in the north had rendered the Moslems helpless. Perhaps nothing depicts the lacerated feelings of the Moslems in the middle of the eighteenth century better than the Arabic poems of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz:

"May God repay in our behalf the Sikhs and the Marathas with his harsh punishments immediately, rather than in the remote future.

"They have killed multitudes of Moslems, and have inflicted grievous pains on us.

"Each year they lead pludering expeditions into our country. They wade through our blood in the mornings and in the evenings.

"Is there an asylum for the refuge-seeker, and is there an upright succorer?"

In another Arabic poem Shah 'Abdūl Azīz expresses his deep emotion and the utter helplessness of the Moslems before the Sikhs' ever-increasing encroachments:

"The cold days (winter) have approached and my heart is smitten with the fright of the Sikhs. And knowing these barbarians as they are, my fear is reasonable.

"May God banish them from these lands, because they are our worst enemies. They are ferocious monsters.

"I have entrusted the fate of all Moslems to God, and we hope for his protection." [96]

For clarity and continuity we have now to trace briefly the history of the establishment of the Sikh state in the Punjab in 1799, when Ranjit Singh occupied Lahore. From the death of Bandah to the accession of Ranjit Singh an interval of 83 years elapsed. After the battle of Panipat in 1761, in which the Moslem alliance triumphed, Ahmad Shah Abdali returned to Kabul. In the following year the Sikhs in the Punjab rebelled against his governors. They had increased their numbers and were menacing the entire territory between Delhi and Attock. Ahmad Shah Abdali returned to the Punjab to subdue the Sikhs. A battle between Abdali and the Sikhs took place between Gujerwal and Bernala, 20 miles south of Ludhiana (East Punjab, India). Between 12,000 and 25,000 Sikhs are estimated to have

participated, so that we may calculate the full Sikh power at that time at something between 50,000 and 100,000 fighting men.[97]

The Sikhs were defeated but not entirely annihilated and Ahmad Shah Abdali had to return again and again. Their numbers increased daily and their leaders were ambitious and bent on revenge. Many important Sikh families had risen to power and importance during this period of anarchy. They had one common motive for action—hatred of the Moslems—and one common bond of union—their faith.[98] Sikh social organization was feudal and theocratic. The Punjab from Jhelum to the Satlaj was partitioned into twelve confederacies, which were called *misls*.[99] All the *misls* combined were known as the *Sarbā Khālsā* or the whole Sikh nation. The misls were named after a village, district, or eminent chief.

Among the Sikhs there was little democratic spirit. Each chief of a *misl* had risen to power by suppressing his rivals and maintained himself by the same means. His chief thoughts were for self-aggrandizement, hence these twelve *misls* soon became twelve centers of jealousy. After the seventh expedition of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1764 their jealousy and intrigues came into full play. The chief of Patiala, east of the Satlaj, became the recognized leader of the east, or cis-Satlaj states–Jhind, Nabha, Kapurthalla and others, known as the Malwa or Phulkian states. The states west of the Satlaj were known as Manja, from the delta between the Bias and the Ravi where their principal cities were situated. The struggle for mastery west of the Satlaj ended with Ranjit Singh, (1780-1839) the leader of the Sukerchukia *misl*. He welded the whole area into a Sikh kingdom with Lahore (conquered in July 1799), as its capital.[100]

Ranjit Singh, having established his kingdom, determined to conquer the whole country to the south of the Satlaj, as far as the river Jumna. He believed that he could safely accomplish this without clashing with the British. The condition of the cis-Satlaj Sikh states eminently favored the success of this design. Jealous of each other, and no longer bound together by hatred of Moslems now that their power had collapsed, they were about to fall victim one by one to Ranjit Singh.

The cis-Satlaj states realized this danger and threw themselves at the mercy of the British. In the beginning of February 1809, Sir David Ochterlony issued a proclamation declaring the cis-Satlaj states to be under British protection and that any aggressions of Ranjit Singh would be resisted with arms. Realizing that the British were in earnest, Ranjit Singh relinquished his last acquisitions. At Amritsar on April

25, 1809, he signed a treaty which left him master of the area he had originally occupied south of the Satlaj, confining his future ambitions to the north and west of that river.[101] The treaty was faithfully upheld by both parties until the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839.

Inspired by their messianic sense of destiny, the Sikhs uprooted a centuries-old empire, which in the language of Emperor Aurangzeb was "God given," and "destined to last forever." Yet the Sikh population in the Punjab, compared with the Moslems and Hindus, was almost negligible. The population of the Punjab, exclusive of Kashmir was, by the census of 1881 22,712,120, of which 11,666,436 were Moslems, 9,232,295 Hindus, and 1,716,114 Sikhs. In the British territory of the Punjab there were only six percent Sikhs. Although the Sikhs may have been proportionately more numerous in the time of Ranjit Singh they never exceeded a total of two million at the height of their power, concentrated probably in the central districts of the Punjab.[102]

The Sikh power was organized in an interesting manner. Ranjit Singh's armies were trained by the ex-generals of Napoleon, who after his downfall had become mercenary soldiers. The most important was General Ventura, an Italian who had served Napoleon in the armies of Spain and Italy. Another was General Allard, who had distinguished himself by his ability and gallantry in many Napoleonic campaigns. Both served Ranjit Singh long and faithfully. Allard was allowed to raise a corps of dragoons and Ventura was placed in command of the *Fouj Khas* (special brigade), the first in rank, discipline and equipment in the Sikh army. Ranjit Singh always treated Ventura with confidence and respect. As a reward for his campaigns against the Moslems in the northwestern areas of what is now West Pakistan, he was appointed *kadi* and governor of Lahore, which gave him the third most powerful position at court.

Another Frenchman, Colonel Court, educated at the Ecole Polytechnique of Paris, commanded two battalions of Gurkhas. Colonel Van Cortlandt was another officer of mixed parentage who served Ranjit Singh. General Avitable was a Neapolitan by birth who came to Lahore some years after Ventura. His stern and ferocious methods against the Moslems in the Peshawar district reduced them to utter humiliation and submission. Ranjit Singh troubled himself not at all with the theory or practical niceties of administration. He took from the land and from the merchants as much as he could get. Only the Sikh peasants were lightly taxed; no local officer dared to oppress a member of the *Khālsā* (the Sikh nation). Ranjit Singh did not

punish officers who took redress into their own hands, which was in fact expected from them. The whole wealth and energy of the Sikh people were devoted to war, the preparation of military strategy and equipment. The feudal system established by Ranjit Singh suited the mass of the Sikh population. They had ample employment and were pleased that city after city admitted the supremacy of the *Khālsā.* All acts of oppression or magnanimity were committed "for the sake of the Guru, for the advantange of the *Khālsā,* and in the name of the Lord."[103] In fact the Sikh government suited the Sikhs extremely well. The Moslems, however, were groaning under their yoke. "The insolent swagger and hatred of the Sikhs against the Moslems made Ranjit Singh prohibit the call to prayer of the Muezzin, as it roused the Sikh fanatics to fury."[104]

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz realized that the overthrow of the Sikh government was not possible unless the whole Moslem nation rallied around his movement and in preparation for this time he was actively choosing and training his disciples. It was evident that of all the Moslems of the Indian subcontinent the Bengalis were psychologically prepared to be enlisted in the war against the Sikhs.

British Pauperize the Moslems. In order to consolidate their rule in Bengal the British had to rely upon the cooperation of the Hindus. Their strategy was to remove the Moslems from the professions and positions of economic and administrative control. This policy ultimately pauperized them, while the beneficiaries were obviously the Hindus, who moved into the professions and positions of economic and political power vacated by the Moslems. Thus the era of Hindu westernization and collaboration with the British began.

Under the Moghul rule the Moslems had almost monopolized government employment. However, under the British they were gradually excluded altogether from state patronage. It was not merely that they had an equal chance with the Hindus, but they ceased to have any chance at all in Bengal. Although the province fell to the East India Company in 1757, full control of the administration was not assumed until Warren Hastings (1772-1785), and Lords Cornwallis and Shore (1786-1798), introduced major changes in the administrative set-up. By 1800, it was impossible for a Moslem family to live an honorable and decent economic life.

Scions of noble Moslem families had always been either army officers, land revenue collectors or administrators. The army was completely closed to them. No Moslem gentlemen of birth could

enter a British regiment and they bitterly resented the loss of a hereditary occupation.[105] The Moslem monopoly of the collection of land revenue had its roots in the administrative system of the Moghul government. The Moslems had the higher fiscal posts, while Hindu bailiffs dealt directly with the husbandman. The Hindus in fact staffed the subordinate revenue service and took their share of the profits before passing the collections on to the Moslem superior officers. The latter, however, were responsible to the emperor, thus forming an essential link in the Moslem fiscal system. The English East India Company obtained Bengal simply by legally becoming the emperor's *dīwān* or chief revenue officer. As such the English were bound to maintain the Moslem system which they undertook to administer. "There can be little doubt," opines William Wilson Hunter, "that both parties to the treaty at the time understood this."[106]

The British, however, dealt a great blow to the revenue system with a series of changes introduced by Cornwallis and Shore ending in the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793. By this Settlement the English took over the functions of those Moslem officers who had formerly been the link between the actual collector and the government. They were replaced by an English collector with a fiscal police in each district. The Permanent Settlement, however, retained subordinate Hindu officers as collectors who dealt directly with the husbandmen. "I have carefully gone over the Ms. Settlement Reports of 1788-1790, and notwithstanding the clauses touching intermediate holders in the Code of 1793," remarks William Wilson Hunter, "it is quite clear to me that our Revenue Officers of those days had an eye to only three links in the previous system—the State, the local agent or landholder who collected direct from the peasantry, and the husbandman who tilled the soil. These were the three features of the former administration requisite to our new plan, and by degrees all the other links of Muhammaden Revenue System were either extruded or allowed to drop out."[107] With regard to the character of Permanent Settlement Hunter adds: "It elevated the Hindu collectors, who up to that time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of landholders, gave them a proprietary right in the soil, and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Moslems under their own rule.[108]

During the first 75 years of the British rule in Bengal the Moslem upper and middle classes either disappeared or were submerged beneath the new Hindu upper classes which developed as a result of the English policy. It is understandable, if we accept the argument of William Wilson Hunter, that to shut the Moslems out of the army

was necessary to the safety of the British, but to deprive them of a share in the administration of Bengal was a breach of faith.

The third source of the Moslems' livelihood had been their lion's share of positions in the judicial, political or civil administration. They continued to hold them for some time after the province passed under English rule. Moslem *faujdars* and *kotwals* commanded the police. A great Moslem department, with its headquarters in Murshidabad and a network of officials in every district in the province administered the criminal law. *Kadis* (Moslem doctors of law) sat in the civil and domestic courts. Even when the English attempted to administer justice by means of trained English officers, the *kadis* sat with them as their authoritative advisors on points of law. The *Shari'a* remained the law of the land. Moslems alone could speak the official language and they alone could read the official records written in *shikāstā* (broken) Persian. The Cornwallis Code broke this monopoly but less violently than the Permanent Settlement Act had done in the revenue departments. For the first 50 years (1757-1807) of the Company's rule the Moslems still held the major share of government positions. During the second half century (1807-1857) of the company's rule the tide turned. Persian, the official language, gave way to English and Bengali and the Hindus began filling government positions on every level. The clerks attached to various offices, responsible posts in the courts, and even the higher offices in the police were recruited from the promising Hindu youth graduating from English government schools.[109]

In 1869 there was 1 Moslem to 2 Hindus in the highest grade government posts; only 2 years later there was but 1 Moslem to 10 Hindus. The proportion in the lower ranks changed from 4 Moslems out of 30 in 1869 to 4 out of 39 in 1871. Among the civil service examiners who recruited personnel there were 2 Moslems out of a total of 28 in 1869, while in 1871 there was not a single Moslem in this rank,[110] which explains why so few Moslems were appointed. When the Moslems appointed in the previous generation retired their places were occupied by Hindus. In 1869 the lower departments were filled thus: in the 3 grades of assistant government engineers there were 14 Hindus and not one Moslem; among the apprentices there were 4 Hindus, 2 Englishmen and not one Moslem; among the sub-engineers and supervisors of the Public Works Department there were 24 Hindus to 1 Moslem; among the Overseers, 2 Moslems to 63 Hindus; in the Offices of Account there were 50 Hindus and not one

Moslem; and in the Upper Subordinate Department there were 22 Hindus and not one Moslem.[111]

By the middle of the nineteenth century there was scarcely a government office in Calcutta in which a Moslem could hope to get any job above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of ink-pots or mender of pens. The exclusion of Moslems from the professions was equally severe. The only secular profession open to well-born Moslems was the law. Yet in 1869 among the 7 law officers of the Crown there were 6 Hindus and not one Moslem; among the barristers-at-law were 3 Hindus and not one Moslem. In 1871 among the judges of the High Court of Judicature in Bengal there were 2 Hindus but no Moslem.

The list of pleaders of the High Court (a sort of subordinate attorney), tells the clearest story of all. This branch of the profession had been almost completely in the hands of the Moslems a generation earlier. Up to 1839 Moslems were almost as numerous as the Hindus and English put together, the proportion being 6 of the former to 7 of both of the latter. As late as 1851 the Moslems held their own, there being in fact as many Moslems as English and Hindu pleaders put together. From that year on the scene changes. Different fitness tests were introduced; of 240 pleaders admitted from 1852 to 1868, 239 were Hindus and only one was Moslem.

Among the attorneys, proctors, and solicitors of the High Court in Bengal in 1869, there were 27 Hindus and not one Moslem and among the articled clerks 26 Hindus and again not one Moslem. The story is the same in every profession. In the office of the Registrar of the High Court there were in 1869 17 employees of sufficient standing to have their names published. Six of them were Englishmen or others, eleven were Hindus and not one was a Moslem. In the Receiver's Office 4 names were given, 2 of them English and 2 Hindus. In the Office of the Clerk of the Crown and Taxing Officer were 4 Englishmen and 5 Hindus, but no Moslem. In the Offices of Account, the Sheriff's Office, Coroner's Office and Office of Interpreters, 20 names were given, 8 Englishmen, 11 Hindus and 1 Moslem. The sole representative of the Moslem population on the list was a "maula" (Law officer) at 6 shillings a week.

In 1869 the statistics regarding the medical profession stood thus: "(a) Among the graduates of medicine in the Calcutta University there were four doctors; three Hindu, one Englishmen and no Moslem. (b) Among eleven bachelors of medicine, ten were Hindus and one an Englishman. (c) The hundred and four licentiates of medicine

consisted of five Englishmen, ninety-eight Hindus and one solitary Moslem."[112]

There is actually nothing more pitiful than the letters of Bengali Moslems to the editors of newspapers. From the daily Persian newspaper, *Dūrbīn,* of July 14, 1869, William Wilson Hunter quoted the following.

"All sorts of employment, great and small, are being gradually snatched away from the Moslems, and are bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus. The Government is bound to look upon all classes of its subjects with an equal eye, yet the time has come when it publicly singles out the Moslems in its Gazettes for exclusion from official posts. Recently, when several vacancies occurred in the office of the Sundarbans Commissioner, that official, in advertising them in the Government Gazette, stated that the appointments be given to none but Hindus. In short, the Moslems have now sunk so low, that even when qualified for government employ, they are studiously kept out of it by government notifications. Nobody takes any notice of their helpless condition, and the higher authorities do not deign even to acknowledge their existence."[113]

The woes of Moslems in regard to securing decent means of living were further multiplied by their lack of educational facilities. During the first 75 years of British rule the educational system established by the Moghul government was continued. Meanwhile the British introduced a system of public instruction in Bengal. As soon as a new generation of men graduated according to the new plan, they discarded the old Moslem system and Moslem youth found every avenue of public life closed in their faces. Had the Moslems been wise they would have perceived the change and taken advantage of the new educational system, which was to stay for a long time. However this was not easy for the descendants of the rulers, especially when the teachers in the government schools were Hindu and the language Bengali. The Moslems with one voice spurned the new form of public instruction.

By degrees this aversion yielded to the altered conditions of life. Local *'ulamā'*, collaborating with the British, issued decrees approving of English education, while the conservatives shrank still further back from it. Even as late as 1860-62 there was only one Moslem to ten Hindus in the government schools. Although later the proportion of Moslem students in schools increased considerably, this was due to private institutions and not to the district government schools.

While the British created a system of public instruction unpalatable

to the prejudices of the Moslems, they also denuded their old system of the funds by which it had been formerly supported. Every great Moslem house in Bengal used to maintain a scholastic establishment in which its sons and daughters and those of its poorer neighbors received a free education. As the Moslem families of Bengal declined, such private institutions dwindled in numbers and efficiency. In former times Indian princes used to set apart grants of land for the education of the youth. This land and its produce was exempted from local and state revenues and its income spent on schools, teachers salaries and students' stipends. That is how the entire educational system of the Moslems was financed.

The British authorities discovered that one-fourth of all the land in the province of Bengal had been transferred to the educational institutions. In 1772 Warren Hastings declared that this was a fraud, perpetrated by the Moslems to deprive the state of a due share of the revenue. However, feeling against confiscation of lands was then too strong to allow any active steps to be taken by the British. It was not until 1828 that the East India Company's legislature and executive combined to make one great effort to confiscate the lands of the educational institutions. Special courts were created to reclaim the lands "and during the next eighteen years the whole of Bengal was overrun with informers, fake witnesses and stern resumption officers."

The statistics in regard to the reclaimed acreage are not known, but their extent can be estimated from the figures of total revenue added to the East India Company's exchequer. The East India Company spent 800,000 pounds on resumption proceedings and permanently gained an additional revenue of 300,000 pounds a year. Almost all of this was derived from lands which had been held revenue-free by Moslems and their scholastic institutions. The educational system of the Moslems which had been almost entirely maintained by revenue-free lands, received its death-blow. The educated classes of the Moslems emerged from the eighteen years of resumption proceedings absolutely ruined. The profession of a man of learning, a dignified and lucrative calling under Moghul rule, ceased to exist in Bengal. The English government demanded documentary evidence in support of claims of any lands being revenue-free. Due to the uncertain state of real estate laws the Moslems could not produce this evidence in support of their claims on private estates. During the first 75 years of their rule the British Government had not dared to confiscate the revenue-free land and meanwhile "the climate and the white-ants had been making havoc of the imperial *Farmans, Sanads,* and the title-

deeds. There can be no doubt whatever that from those Resumption days the decay of the Moslem educational system in Bengal dates."[114]

The Moslems of Bengal were convinced that if the Resumption Laws had been honestly applied, they would still have possessed one of the most efficient educational establishments in Bengal. Let us now examine one case which demonstrates what the British Government did with the trusts and religious endowments. In 1806 a wealthy Moslem gentleman of the Hugli district died, leaving a vast estate in *pios usus*. Presently his two trustees began to quarrel. In 1810 the disputes deepened into a charge of malversation and the English collector of the district attached the property pending the decision of the courts. Litigation continued until 1816, when the government dismissed both the trustees and assumed the management of the estate, appointing itself in the place of one trustee and nominating a second one. In the next year it rented out the estate in perpetuity taking a suitable payment from each of the permanent leaseholders. These payments, with the arrears which had accumulated during the litigation amounted to 105,700 pounds in 1871 in addition to more than 12,000 pounds which had since been saved from the annual proceeds of the estate.

The trust had been left for pious uses. An educational foundation came strictly within the purposes of the trust, but only one on the Moslem plan, such as the founder would have himself approved. Any attempt to divert the funds to a non-Moslem college would have been considered an act of impiety by the testator and as gross malversation on the part of the trustees. Indeed, so inseparable is the religious element from a Moslem endowment that the government had to carefully investigate the legality of applying a trust made by a gentleman of the Shi'a sect to the education of the Sunni Moslems. We may imagine then, the burst of indignation with which the Moslems learned that the English government was using the funds for the erection of an English college.[115] In the 1850's out of three hundred boys in this college, built by the Moslem endowment, not one percent were Moslems. Although this disproportion grew less later on, the Moslems retained a deep sense of injustice.

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's Declaration: India, a Dar-ul-Harb. Even though some of the statistical reports of British actions against the Moslems in Bengal were published after Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's death they had taken place in his lifetime. He was keenly aware of them and knew full well the extent to which Bengali Moslems were disaffected. He

also knew that the harsh resumption proceedings had left a legacy of hatred for the English.

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz realized that a certain degree of collaboration with the British was advisable if the Moslems were to retain some influence, no matter how meagre, in the administrative set-up of the country. A policy of "no war, and no peace," was designed by Shah 'Abdūl Azīz. He issued a decree that a Moslem could accept employment with the British government if he did not expect to fall into a situation whereby he would have to commit the "capital sins" *(ma'siyāt-i kabīrā)* of fighting against his co-religionists and serving alcoholic beverages and pork. This clause of his decree virtually forbade the Moslems from seeking employment in the British armed forces which were still fighting quite a few Moslem princes. Nevertheless some leeway remained at the discretion of a prospective Moslem employee. The second part of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's decree expressly allowed Moslems to seek employment in any civilian department of the British government. As an example, he listed the legal profession, employment in judicial courts, police and other professions of similar nature.

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz considered the ultimate aim of Shah Walīullāh's reformation to be the creation of a democratic Islamic social order, based on the indispensable right of the citizens to economic equality. He realized that this could not be accomplished unless the Moslems made a serious, concerted and organized effort to regain the political control of some provinces. It was, therefore, decided that a national militia should be created which would be the nucleus of the future national armed forces. Shah 'Abdūl Azīz established two boards of directors, one for military purposes and the other to serve as a surveillance committee for the maintenance of the ideological and doctrinal purity of the movement. The military board consisted of Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī and Mawlana Muhammad Isma'īl Shahīd, with Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd as its chairman. The ideological committee was directed by Mawlana Muhammad Is'hāq and his brother Mawlana Muhammad Ya'qūb. Shah 'Abdūl Azīz let it be understood that the unanimous decisions of the two committees would be tantamount to his own judgment.[116]

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz by this time (the first decade of the nineteenth century) was an old man. Before the war of liberation could be launched there were three crucial questions that needed careful consideration: from which territory should the first arrow be shot; what should be the overall strategy to regain the political control; and how

could the Moslem masses be awakened from their stupor. The first two questions could be tackled by the two boards created by Shah 'Abdūl Azīz, but galvanizing the Moslem masses who had been terrorized into obedience and silence by the British on the one hand and the Sikhs on the other, was a difficult task. It needed the prestige and influence of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz to rouse them to action. Accordingly he declared India *Dar-ul-Harb:* "When infidels get hold of a Moslem country, and it becomes impossible for the Moslems of the country and of the people of the neighboring districts to drive them away or to retain reasonable hope of ever doing so; and the power of the infidels increases to such an extent, that they can abolish or retain the ordinances of Islam according to their pleasure and no one [evidently Moslems] is strong enough to seize on the revenues of the country without the permission of the infidels and the [Moslem] inhabitants do no longer live as secure as before; such a country is politically a country of the enemy *(Dar-ul-Harb)*."[117]

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz died on July 17, 1823. In response to his decree the Moslems were ready for a war of liberation to make India *Dar-ul-Islam* once again.

Chapter VI

STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd. Inheritor of the mantle of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz, Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd was born into a respectable Saiyad family of the district of Rai Bareli on November 29, 1786.

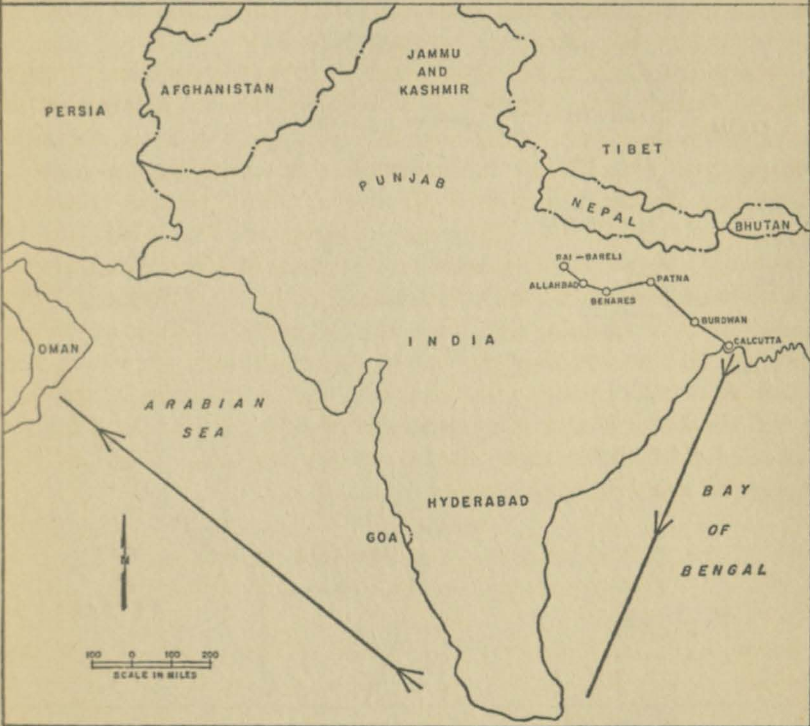
At the age of four, like most children from the educated Moslem classes, Shadīd, was admitted to a *madressa* which he attended for three years. However, young Shahīd did not show a keen interest in conventional education.[1] Indicating instead unmistakable traits of leadership, he would divide his playmates into an army of Islam and an army of the infidels. The army of Islam, working itself into full fury, would shout "*Fath Islam kī hai*" (victory of Islam), and triumpantly invade the cowed and demoralized army of the infidels.[2] These war games give an indication of the atmosphere in which young Shahīd grew up. His mother, Saiyada Āa'fiyā, taking seriously her young son's determination to someday launch a war against the infidels, searched in the *Dīwān* of Hafiz, the celebrated Persian poet, to see what the "revealer of the unforseen" had to predict for him. It is said that she found the following couplet: [3]

> A sword that shines with blessing of the heavens
> Can conquer the world without an agent soldier.

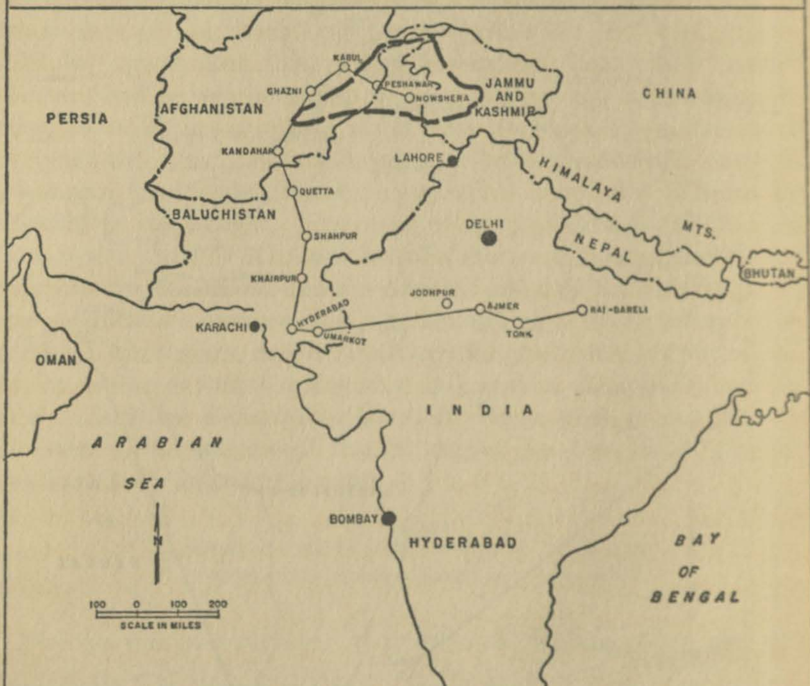
Perhaps the contemporary biographer of Shahīd added this little episode to embellish the story of his life, yet it depicts the feelings of the people among whom he grew up. They felt the need for an inspired leader who would restore their self-confidence and assure them that they could be victorious once again.

Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd was 13 years old when his father, Saiyad Muhammad 'Irfān, died. For the next four years he lived in Rai Bareli where the family was supported by his two elder brothers, Saiyad Muhammad Ibrahīm and Saiyad Muhammad Is'hāq. Saiyad Muhammad Ibrahīm was a soldier by profession employed by Nawab Amīr Khan, the ruler of Tonk State. He died on November 12, 1808. Saiyad Muhammad Is'hāq, an accomplished scholar, was fond of collecting works of celebrated *Ulamā'*. He possessed two hundred books of

ROUTE OF SAIYAD AHMAD SHAHĪD AND HIS FOLLOWERS ON PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA (1822)



MOSLEM STATE ESTABLISHED IN NORTHWEST FRONTIER PROVINCE (1830)



tasfir (commentary) of the Qur'an and had learned the Qur'an and *hadith* from Shah 'Abdūl Azīz and his younger brother, Shah 'Abdūl Qādir, in Delhi. He could compose beautiful poems in Persian and Arabic. He died in Rai Bareli on April 2, 1819.

Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd was hardly eighteen years old, when he decided to seek suitable employment in Lucknow. He left Rai Bareli in 1804 with eighteen companions, all determined to try their luck at the Oudh court in Lucknow. Shahīd was the guest of a noble in Lucknow and hoped to enlist in his army. After four months of waiting the opportunity came; the noble wanted to recruit one hundred fresh soldiers. A thousand unemployed young men applied, but the noble offered Shahīd a position in the army, telling him to choose two men from his group. Out of deference to the greater needs of his companions, he did not take the job, offering it instead to one of his friends. It seems that at this juncture he made up his mind to proceed to Delhi to study with Shah 'Abdūl Azīz. Accordingly, he proceeded to walk, all by himself, the 318 miles from Lucknow to Delhi.

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz entrusted Shahīd to Shah 'Abdūl Qādir's care and the latter lodged him in the Akbar Abādī Mosque. In this historic mosque, which had been built by Akbar Abādī Mahl, Emperor Shah Jahan's *begum*, and which was later destroyed by the British in the 1857 wars, Shahīd obtained advanced education from Shah 'Abdūl Qādir. He learned *Mishkat* and *Mīzan*, and other theological works. In 1807 he took the oath of *bai'a'* at the hand of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz in the *Naqshbandiya, Qadriya* and *Chistiya* sufi orders.[5] He did not achieve the scholastic eminence that distinguished Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī and Mawlana Isma'īl Shadīd who followed him in the war against the Sikhs; however he grew to be well-versed in Islamic lore.

Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī was born in Bodhana, district Muzaffar Nagar, which is near Delhi. He achieved great eminence in jurisprudence and law. After the conquest of Delhi the British were eager to enlist the support of Moslem intellectuals to lend a Moslem coloring to their administration, and would offer them a number of respectable judicial positions. Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī was offered the position of a *mufti* (judge) in Meerut, which he accepted. However, after three years he resigned when it became incompatible with his political ideas.[6] Shah 'Abdūl Azīz was his father-in-law; it was at his suggestion that he joined Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd in the war to overthrow the Sikh rule. Already an old man when he followed Shahīd to the northwestern frontier of India, his health broke down under the physical hardships that he

had to suffer in the guerilla warfare. He died on the frontier in February, 1828.

Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd (1779-1831) was the grandson of Shah Walīullāh and the only son of Shah 'Abdūl Ghāni. He was hardly ten years old when his father died; his uncle Shah 'Abdūl Qādir adopted him and he later married his granddaughter. Isma'īl Shahīd received his early education from Shah 'Abdūl Qādir. Subsequently he studied with his uncle Shah 'Abdūl Azīz, obtaining an excellent knowledge of philosophy, logic, mathematics, rhetoric, as well as the disciplines of Qur'anic *tafsīr* and *hadith*.

It was in the school of Shah 'Abdūl Qādir that Isma'īl Shahīd and Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd came into close contact. They developed a friendship and mutual understanding which were not shaken by the vicissitudes of time. Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd's contribution was to convey the philosophy of Shah Walīullāh to the common man and interpret it in the light of current political realities. To this end he would preach sermons every Friday in the Shahi Mosque in Delhi. Hakīm Momin Khan Momin (1801-1852), the famous lyrical Urdu poet and also a former student of Shah 'Abdūl Qādir, was influenced by Isma'īl Shahīd's impassioned call for the resuscitation of Moslem national life. He wrote several stirring poems to rouse the Moslems against the Sikh rule in the Punjab and composed three panegyrics in honor of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd.[7]

The works of Mawlana Shahīd are a good reflection of the liberation movement's ideology and political aims. They can be divided into two categories: *Tāqviat-al-Imān*, *Risālā Yak Rozā*, and *Izhūl Haqq-i-Sarih*, which aim at eliminating Hindu coloring from Moslem mores, and *Mansāb-i-Imamāt*, and *Sirāt-al-Mūstaqīm*, which laid the ideological foundations for the political, cultural and religious reorientation among the Moslems in India.

Mansāb-i-Imamāt, written in Persian, discusses the nature of the office of the caliph, the head of a Moslam state. "The true caliph", according to Mawlana Shahīd, "acquires all the qualities of the Prophet and is not ordained by God."[8] This definition of the caliphate was not enunciated in a vacuum. Mawlana Shahīd considered Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd ideally suited for the office of a legitimate caliph. In the last portion of *Sirāt-al-Mūstaqīm* he describes Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd as having instinctively acquired perfection and as being spiritually closest to the Prophet Muhammad.[9] Although Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd was officially declared Caliph of the Moslem forces in 1827,

the doctrine supporting his elevation had been enunciated much earlier.

In discussing the nature of government Mawlana Shahīd shows a strong preference for a republic. He describes monarchy as tyranny, and an un-Islamic form of government even at its best. With this description of monarchy he delivers a scathing indictment of the Moghul monarchy of his times in India. He also condemns the *Din-i-Ilāhī* of Emperor Akbar and the general mode of Moghul administration as un-Islamic. "They [Moghuls] pay only lip service to Islam," he said, "while they follow the pre-Islamic traditions of Genghis Khan and celebrate the *holi* and *devali* festivals like the Hindus." [10] He invited the Moslems to harken to the call of the caliph "who raises the standard of *jihād* against the enemies of Moslems and the Prophet Muhammad." [11]

Preparation for War. After pledging allegiance to Shah 'Abdūl Azīz, Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd followed the instructions of his mentor very faithfully. Towards the end of 1807 or 1808 he returned to Rai Bareli with the permission of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz after about five years in Delhi. He was now a grown-up young man of 23 with a full flowing beard. With a sufi's cap on his head, a leather stick in his hand and wearing the traditional garment of a mystic he appeared in Rai Bareli. He had changed so radically that not even his relatives recognized him. In the same year he married Saiyada Zah'ra, the daughter of Saiyad Muhammad Roshan. In 1809 his eldest daughter, Saiyada Sarā, was born.

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz appointed Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd the leader of the liberation movement, which was the obvious consequence of his decree declaring India to be a *Dar-ul-Harb*. In 1810 Shahīd was sent to serve in the armed forces of Amīr Khan, the Nawab of Tonk State, where he remained for more than six years. His aim was to learn military discipline and strategy, indispensable for the military leadership that he was preparing to provide after the war of liberation was launched.

Born in 1768, Nawab Amīr Khan hailed from the Salarzai tribe of Bonair, in the northwestern frontier areas of India. His grandfather Talī'ā Khan had come to India during the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah. During the century of great anarchy which followed the death of Emperor 'Alāmgīr II in 1757, Nawab Amīr Khan carved a state for himself in Rajputana. He followed an anti-British policy by helping the Pindaris to lead frequent excursions into British-controlled territories.[12]

Nawab Amīr Khan's territory was close to three Hindu princely states in Rajputana: Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udhepur. These states were constantly engaged in hostilities against each other, an ideal situation for Nawab Amīr Khan, who played one against the other demanding his own price for his temporary and shifting alliance. War was the rule of life in Rajputana and peace an exception. Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd participated in most of the wars in which the Nawab's forces were engaged although the contemporary historians record the details of only two. One of them was a 24-day siege of Dhamkola which was conducted by Nawab Amīr Khan to recover a considerable debt from the Raja of Jaipur. The other was the siege of Madhuraj-Puri Fort in which the Nawab helped the Raja of Jaipur, whose enemy, Thakar Bhart Singh, had occupied his fort. In both sieges Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd distinguished himself by his cool calculated thinking and gallantry in action.

Shahīd soon became popular with the soldiers. He often preached the moral principles of Islam among them and reminded them of their obligations to live righteously. Nawab Amīr Khan used to seek his counsel in state affairs and Shahīd attended his court daily.

Nawab Amīr Khan maintained his independence as long as he could, but finally he realized that it would be impossible to defy the superior British power. During the famous Pindari wars General Donkin placed his troops between the Pindaris and Nawab Amīr Khan. At the same time British army reserves under General David Ochterlony advanced to the south of Jaipur separating the two principal divisions of the Nawab's troops. The Nawab's situation was hopeless and the British offered him the following terms: (a) his troops should be disbanded; (b) a loan would be made to the Nawab enabling him to discharge his arrears; (c) an arrangement would be authorized for the reorganization of a considerable portion of the Nawab's forces by putting them on the British payroll.[13]

Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd advised the Nawab to renew hostilities with the British and to fight unto death, adding that if they lost their lives they would become martyrs and if victorious they would be honored as *ghazis* (heroes). However the Nawab's troops were disaffected and the British had corrupted his officers. Consequently he yielded to the British and signed the final settlement under the above-mentioned conditions with Sir David Ochterlony on December 15, 1817.[14]

Tonk was no longer free; it became a pawn in the hands of the British. From the point of view of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's decree Tonk was now Dar-ul-Harb and Shahīd could no longer serve the Nawab. He

decided to proceed to Delhi in order to be with his mentor again and wrote a letter to Shah 'Abdūl Azīz, saying "this humble servant will come to kiss your feet; here [in Tonk] the troops have been dispersed, the Nawab has joined the English. It is no longer possible [for me] to stay here." [15]

Probably in May or June, 1818, Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd reached Delhi and he was once again lodged in the Akbar Abādī mosque. Shah 'Abdūl Qādir, his beloved teacher, had died earlier on June 22, 1813; his pulpit in the mosque was occupied now by Shah Rafi-ud-Din. Actually Nawab Amīr Khan had proved to be a big disappointment both for Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd and Shah 'Abdūl Azīz. They had hoped that one day his troops might become a nucleus of the liberation movement in India. However, Shahīd had found a sincere follower in Nawab Wazīr-ud-Daulah, the heir-apparent to the throne of Tonk. It was decided that a direct appeal should be made to the Moslems. A party of activists including Mawlavi Muhammad Yūsūf Phūltī, Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī, Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd, Shah Muhammad Is'hāq, Shah Muhammad Ya'qūb, Hakīm Mughith-ud-Din, Mawlana Waj'ī-ud-Din and a host of other less known people, took the oath of *bai'a* at the hand of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd.[16] When people heard that the immediate members of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's family had declared allegiance to Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd, invitations began to pour in. A tour of the area was therefore planned and was blessed by Shah 'Abdūl Azīz.[17]

Shah 'Abdūl Azīz sent letters and messages to his disciples in distant areas urging them to receive Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd kindly and listen to his message.[18] He left Delhi in November, 1818, and returned in May having spent seven months travelling and taking oaths of *bai'a* from the common Moslems. He visited Ghazi Abad, Murad Nagar, Meerut, Sardhna, Kandhla, Bodhna, Muzaffar Nagar, Deo Band, Gangoh, Nanota, Thana Bhawan, Ram-pur Lihri, Saharan-Pur Anbatha and other villages and towns in the Gangetic-Jamna Doab. Almost twenty people accompanied him on his tour. In most places large crowds of Moslems gathered to take the oath of *bai'a* and Shahīd was unable to go through the ceremony of initiation by separate laying on of hands. Unrolling his turban he would declare that all who could touch any part of its ample length became his disciple. On May 29, he set out for Rai Bareli stopping on his way in Ghazi Abad, Hapor, Garh Muktasher, Amroha and Muradabad. His last notable visit was in Rampur where Ahmad Ali, the ruler of Rampur State and the nobles of his court took the oath of *bai 'a*, thus becoming his disciples. When Shahīd returned to Rai Bareli to mourn the death of his elder brother and to

visit relatives whom he had not seen for ten years he continued to preach on his way about the necessity of an all-out war for the liberation of *Dar-ul-Islam*.[19]

On June 23, 1819, he reached Rai Bareli with a group of between fifty and seventy disciples. He stayed in Rai Bareli for two years and two months teaching his followers the arts of warfare, guiding them personally in archery, target practice and calisthenics. In Rai Bareli he tried to rid Moslems of the alien customs that they had adopted because of their proximity to the Hindus. Shah Walīullāh had earlier called the attention of the Moslems to their practice of denying widows the right to remarry. In consultation with Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd and Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī, Shahīd decided to start the task of reforms at home and married the widow of his brother, Saiyad Muhammad Is'hāq. Thus he set an example which was followed by a considerable number of respectable Moslem families.

During his stay in Rai Bareli, Shahīd received numerous invitations from Moslems in various parts of the country. Selecting several of the more important cities and towns, he started on his way to Allahabad, accompanied by one hundred and seventy disciples. As usual Moslems flocked to him to tender their allegience. He stayed in Benares for about a month and approximately fifteen thousand men and women took the oath of *bai'a* at his hand.[20] From Benares he proceeded to Rai Bareli for a few weeks' rest.

In Rai Bareli he received an invitation from Agha Mīr, the Deputy of the Nawab of Oudh, to visit him in Lucknow. Between eighty and one hundred seventy-five disciples accompanied Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd to Lucknow where he stayed for about six weeks. A multitude of Moslems including Mawlana Muhammad Ashraf, Mawlavi Saiyad Makhdūm, Mawlavi Imam-ud-Din Bengali, Mawlavi Imam-ud-Din of Lucknow, Mawlavi 'Abdūl Basit, Mawlavi Saiyad Abu-l Hasan of Nasīr-Abad, Mawlavi 'Abdullāh, Mawlavi Rahīm Ullāh, Mawlavi Najīb Ullāh Bengali, Shah Yakīn Ullāh and Mawlavi Hafiz Abdūl Wahab took the oath of *bai'a* at the hand of Saiyad Ahmd Shahīd, and pledged to support the liberation movement. It was here at this time in Lucknow that Mawlavi Wilayat Ali, who was destined to inherit the mantle of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd and guide the movement after his death in 1831, came forward to take the oath of *bai'a* and became his disciple.

When he returned to Rai Bareli, Shahīd announced his decision to go to Mecca for a pilgrimage. In a letter of invitation to his disciples he explained: "You may bring along with you whosoever would like

to accompany me. But let it be known to everyone that we have no financial assurance from any quarters. We trust in God, and leave the problems of our care to Him, who will not fail us. On our way we will seek all sorts of odd jobs to defray our expenses. Aged men and women, unable to earn their living and travelling expenses, will perform the useful service of guarding the belongings of our men while they are out on jobs."[21]

Actually, regarding the obligation of pilgrimage, a controversy had been raging among the Moslems since the days of Emperor Akbar. During his reign Mulla 'Abdūllāh Sultan-puri had decreed that the obligation had lapsed due to unsafe conditions on the high seas. The question was mooted again and Shah 'Abdūl Azīz decreed that pilgrimage was an individual obligation of the faithful. In fact he pointed out that half-educated priests might one day declare other religious duties as optional on the grounds of hazardous conditions.[22] As a mark of respect to Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's decree, Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd decided to provide a practical demonstration. Another reason, of course, was political. He knew that it would not be safe to mobilize Moslem public opinion for a war of liberation against the Sikhs and the British. An avowedly political campaign would have alarmed the British and they would have lost no time in apprehending Shahīd and his leading followers.

In the beginning of July, 1821, four hundred and thirty men and women congregated in Rai Bareli to accompany Shahīd on the pilgrimage. On August 3, the pilgrims started to board the boats in the Ganges river at Dalmeo for the port of their embarkation—Calcutta. Mawlavi Muhammad Yūsūf Phūltī was the secretary-treasurer of the group. When they crossed the Sei river and stopped to rest in a park it was found that after defraying the initial expenses there were only seven rupees left in the pilgrims' fund. On their way to Calcutta Moslems flocked to greet them and offered them food, clothing and money.[23] It is estimated that in Allahabad alone Shahīd's disciples gave offerings valued at no less than Rs 20,000. At each stop Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd and Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī would exhort the Moslems to return to the simple principles of Islam and respond to the call of the liberation movement. Thousands of poor peasants and their well-to-do brethren took the oath of *baī'a* at each stop on the Ganges. It is hard to determine their actual number but they must have been considerably more than one hundred thousand, considering that practically all the Moslem population of Calcutta tendered their allegiance to the movement.[24]

During their stay in Calcutta Mawlavi Imam-ud-Din Bengali went

to preach in the hinterland of Bengal and soon numerous Moslems from Dacca, Sylhet, Chittagong and the remote areas of Assam visited Calcutta to take the oath of bai'a at the hand of Shahīd. They asked him to visit their villages, but since the ships for Aden were about to sail he declined regretfully; he left Mawlavi Imam-ud-Din Bengali and Sufi Nūr Muhammad as his representatives to instruct the Bengali Moslems in religion.[25]

In Calcutta the number of pilgrims increased from 430 to 753. Fare (Rs. 200) was paid for 693; the remaining pilgrims being accepted as destitute, no fare was charged for them. Ten ships were chartered, costing a total of Rs. 13,800 for the voyage.[26]. The pilgrims were divided into ten groups with designated leaders. Stopping briefly at Aden, for a month at Makha and for four or five days at Jaddah, the pilgrims entered Mecca at noon on May 21, 1822. Thus it took them almost ten months to reach their destination. [See page 155 for route.]

When the Sultan of Turkey heard about the piety and charismatic qualities of Shahīd, he sent him a "camel load" of dinars to defray the pilgrims' expenses but Shadid declined the Sultan's gift with thanks.[27] He spent most of his time in prayer and silent meditation; Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī and Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd, however, reserved certain hours daily to lecture on *Mishkat* and *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* of Shah Walīullāh. Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī translated Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd's famous book *Sirāt-al-Mūstaqīm* into Arabic and hand-written copies were distributed among the pilgrims of diverse nationalities.[28]

Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd and his party stayed for a month in Medina and then departed for home. Following the route of the Ganges, they stopped briefly at Monghyr, Patna and Allahabad and then reached Rai Bareli on April 29, 1824. All in all he spent two years and ten months and Rs. 80,000 on the pilgrimage to Mecca; yet there was still a balance of Rs. 10,000 left in the pilgrims' fund.[29]

When Shahīd returned home Shah Abdul 'Azīz had died. The preparation and execution of the war became the exclusive responsibility of the surveillance committee and the military committee. The next twenty-two months were spent in preparation. Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī issued a decree making the *jihād* for political liberation an individual obligation for each Moslem: "The empire of the Christians from Calcutta to Delhi, and other countries adjacent to Hindustan proper [i.e. the so-called Northwestern provinces of the East India Company], are all the country of the enemy [*Dar-ul-Harb*], for idolatry [*kufr* and *shirk*] is everywhere current, and no recourse is made to our holy law, whenever such circumstances exist in a country, the country is a *Dar-*

ul-Harb. It is too long here to specify all conditions; but the opinions of all lawyers agree on this, that Calcutta and its dependencies are the country of the enemy."[30]

Since the Sikh rule in the Punjab was becoming daily more oppressive to the Moslems, it was decided to launch the war with the active support and co-operation of the Pathans in the north-western frontier areas. They planned to crush the Sikh power in the Punjab and then to sweep down the plain of India proper thus making the entire sub-continent *Dar-ul-Islam* once again.

War Declared. The British government did not interfere with the activities of Shahīd and his followers, who were summoning people to rally around the Crescent. They might even have connived at Moslem activities which had the advantage of keeping the Sikh forces engaged on the frontier and thus prevented Ranjit Singh from reviving his ambitions toward the cis-Satlaj states. When two thousands Moslems had congregated in Rai Bareli to sacrifice their lives in the war against the Sikhs, Shahīd decided that the time was ripe.

He visited his family and children for the last time on January 17, 1826, leaving Rs. 5,000 for their maintenance and keeping an equal amount for the war chest. After making brief stops at Dalmeo, Fath-Pur, Jalalpur and Gawaliar the army reached Tonk State where Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd had served Nawab Amīr Khan in his early youth. They were lodged in Nazar-Bagh where Nawab Amīr Khan and his eldest son Nawab Wazīr-ud-Daulah made a courtesy call on Shahīd.

Shahīd and his followers enjoyed the hospitality of the Nawab for one month, and on the Nawab's insistence, it was decided that the family and the children of Shahīd would stay with him in Tonk, and that he would be responsible for their well-being and maintenance until a better place was found for them. Saiyad 'Abdūr Rahmān, Saiyad Muhammad Ya'qūb and Saiyad Zainal 'Abiddīn, the nephews of Shahīd, returned to Rai Bareli to bring his family to Tonk. Nawab Amīr Khan and his son Nawab Wazīr-ud-Daulah tendered an oath of allegiance to Shahīd and they made him promise that he would call on them for financial assistance in case of distress. The next stop after Tonk was Ajmer and then Hyderabad (Sindh).

Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd had written letters to the Nawab of Bhawalpur and the Amīrs of Sindh inviting them to participate in the war against the Sikhs. Receiving no favorable response he left Sindh in disgust on July 20, 1826, and went to Baluchistan. There seem to be several reasons why the Amīrs of Sindh, the Nawab of Bhawalpur, and Sindhi

Moslems in general cold-shouldered his invitations. First of all, the aims and objects of the movement had not been explained to them; they had heard about Shahīd's projects for the first time when he was in Hyderabad. Secondly, the idea of organizing a Moslem peoples' armed opposition to Ranjit Singh's formidable might was simply incomprehensible to the Sindhi Moslems. After all how could two thousand ill-equipped Moslems crush the European-trained and commanded army of Ranjit Singh? Moreover, the Amīrs of Sindh knew that in 1825 Ranjit Singh had advanced to the frontiers of Sindh with a view to establishing his hegemony over them.[31] In fact some people even suspected Shahīd of being on an espionage mission for the English, who would have liked to see the Amīrs embroiled in strife with Ranjit Singh.[32]

In Baluchistan the circumstances were no more propitious than in Sindh. The ruler of Baluchistan, Mahrāb Khan, who had already received an invitation from Shahīd, was engaged in active hostilities with the ruler of the principality of Kandahar (Afghanistan). He promised to help later, but nothing came of this. Shahīd left Quetta on August 22, 1826, and marched toward Kandahar. Before discussing the affairs of Saiyad Ahmad Shahid in Kandahar, a brief review of the political situation in Afghanistan is necessary.

Politics of Afghanistan. After the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Abdali tribe and their descendants came to be known as Durani. After Ahmad Shah Abdali died of cancer in 1773 his son Timūr Shah ruled over the Afghan kingdom until he was poisoned in 1793. Timūr Shah left 36 children of whom 23 were sons. Zaman Shah, the fifth son of Timūr succeeded in gaining the throne of his father but his rule came to an abrupt end in 1800, when he was defeated and blinded by his brother Mahmud and took refuge in India. Mahmud, who was not only indolent but also incapable, ruled for less than three years. He was ousted in 1803 by Shah Shuja. However, Shah Shuja was no more fortunate than his predecessors in his attempt to govern the Durani kingdom. In 1808 he had to give way to Mahmud, whose second attempt to rule this most turbulent kingdom brought about the downfall of the Sadozai family in 1818.[33]

In 1818 Mahmud seized Fath Khan, who was then his chief advisor, and had him blinded and then murdered on some trumped-up charge.[34] When Kamran (Mahmud's son), succeeded his father on the Kabul throne in 1819, the most powerful man in Afghanistan was the Barakzai sardar, Muhammad Azim Khan, the brother and eldest survivor of the

family of Fath Khan. He joined several brothers of Kamran in a revolt to dethrone the murderer of his brother.[35]

Muhammad Azim Khan recalled Shah Shuja from his exile, promising to restore to him the throne of his ancestors. The Shah forthwith returned to Peshawar, where he made premature display of royal splendor, which led him again into exile. Ranjit Singh, who was ever pushing northward, fought the battle of Nowshera in 1823 with Muhammad Azim Khan, thus sealing the latter's fate and establishing the supremacy of the Sikhs over the whole country lying between the Indus and Peshawar. Muhammad Azim Khan died broken-hearted immediately after his return to Kabul in May, 1823. His son Habīb Ūllāh Khan succeeded him, but soon provoked the jealousy of his uncles who formed a cabal against him. Sher Dil Khan, one of the uncles, carried away about half a million pounds sterling belonging to Muhammad Azim Khan and established for himself an independent chiefship of Kandahar. Sultan Muhammad Khan, another uncle, became a vassal of Ranjit Singh, for which he had to pay a yearly tribute in rice and horses.[36] Also all the khans of Samma (the plains), Swat, Bonair, and the Chamla Valley rendered tribute to Ranjit Singh that amounted to thousands of rupees and soldiers.[37] The net revenue of the principality of Peshawar in 1832 was a little less than 500,000 rupees,[38] which Sultan Muhammad Khan shared with his two brothers, Pīr Muhammad Khan and Saīd Muhammad Khan. Kabul itself, together with Ghazni and Jallalabad fell to the share of Dost Muhammad Khan, a third uncle. Yār Muhammad Khan and Saiyad Muhammad Khan occupied the principalities of Kohat and Hasht Nagar respectively.

During the course of his campaign Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd invited the three Khan brothers, and indeed almost all the *sardars* of Afghanistan and the Peshawar region to participate in the war against the Sikhs. When Shahīd reached Kandahar on September 1, 1826, he was overwhelmed by the cordial reception of the people. Large numbers of Moslems flocked to him. Pūr Dil Khan, who had succeeded his brother Sher Dil Khan as *sardar* of Kandahar, was alarmed by Shahīd's popularity, regarding it as a potential threat to his shaky position. He asked Shahīd to leave his territory. Four hundred people volunteered to go with him and with the consent of Pūr Dil Khan, Shahīd selected two hundred seventy young men of Kandahar who pledged the oath of *baī'a* to fight against the *Sikhs*. Saiyad Din Muhammad of Kandahar was appointed the commander of this contingent.[39]

From Mack'kie on his way to Ghazni, Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd wrote letters to the amīrs of Kabul and Ghazni explaining his plans against

the Sikhs and asking them to permit passage through their territories even if they did not wish to participate in the war. Shahīd and his men stayed in Ghazni for only two days and proceeded on September 28, 1826, toward Kabul, where they remained for forty-five days. Shahīd wanted to help reconcile the Barakzai brothers because their perennial animosity made any constructive and coordinated effort impossible. "When all of my efforts proved abortive," wrote Shahīd in one of his letters, "I decided to march [toward Peshawar]." [40]

By the end of November, 1826, he reached Peshawar where he stayed only a few days because it was a vassal town of Ranjit Singh. He decided to make a tour of the frontier and rally the Pathans around the Crescent. The Pathans responded to his appeal with great enthusiasm. They followed him on his ride to Charseda and in their zeal to receive his blessing they would pluck away bits of lace from the covering of his camel. Those who failed would touch the dust on the ground which had been stepped on by his camel. They had found their savior.[41]

At Charseda, the Khan of Hasht Nagar, Saiyad Muhammad Khan, made a courtesy call on Shahīd and took the oath of *bai'a*. The people of the vicinity flocked to him in such numbers that individual blessing became impossible. As he had done before Shahīd unrolled his turban and asked the disciples to touch any part of it to take the oath of *bai'a*. The two weeks' stay in Charseda was a triumph for the liberation movement.[42] [For Shahīd's route to the frontier see page 156]

The news was brought to Shahīd that Ranjit Singh's commander Budh Singh had crossed the Indus and was encamped near Khairabad. On the advice of Amīr Khan, the landlord of Okora, it was decided that the Moslems should attack Budh Singh at Nowshera. Reaching Kowashgi on December 18, 1826, they heard that Budh Singh had entered Akora, eight miles south of Nowshera on the river Lunda. On December 19, Shahīd confronted the enemy for the first time in Nowshera.

The Moslem nationalists were fighting an ideological war against the Sikhs. They were determined to liberate their nation on Islamic terms. Shahīd explained his conditions to Ranjit Singh in a letter demanding: "(1) Either you must accept Islam and in that case you would become our brother in faith; (2) or you must accept our supremacy and agree to pay the *jizya;* then we would protect your life and property with all our might; (3) or you must accept our challenge and be prepared to fight against us unto death. But remember the Moslems of the whole of India, and Yāghistān would stand by us. Moreover,

you do not love to drink spirits with as much zest as we would desire martyrdom in a war with you."[43]

Intoxicated with power Ranjit Singh did not bother to answer this challenge, little knowing that soon he would negotiate with Shahīd for peace and territorial settlement.

Budh Singh had no less than seven thousand soldiers and at least eight cannons. The Moslems on the other hand, had about two thousand men and were badly equipped; not all of them had even ordinary guns. Shahīd and his major advisors realized that the result of this first encounter with the powerful enemy would have a profound psychological impact on the army and the Moslem population. It was decided to launch a surprise attack on the enemy during the night and to cause the maximum possible damage to the Sikh forces without betraying their meager numbers.

Nine hundred men were chosen; among them one hundred and thirty-six were Hindūstānī Moslems; about eighty Kandaharis and the rest frontier Pathans. Allah Bakhsh Khan was appointed commander. A little before midnight on December 20, 1822, the Moslems marched along the western bank of the river Lunda toward Akora where the Sikh forces were encamped. At a short distance from the Sikh camp they fell into formation and waited. When the Sikh watchman struck the bell at 4:15 a.m. they shouted in a chorus—*Allah Akbar* (God is great) and pounced on the Sikhs the way a hungry tiger jumps upon his prey.[44]

A merciless slaughter of the Sikhs began; in the darkness they could not distinguish friends from foe. A party of invaders cut the ropes of the Sikhs' tents, thus compounding the confusion. After an hour and a half Sikh soldiers lighted torches and realized that only a handful of Moslems had wrought such great havoc. Eighty-two Moslems were lost in the battle and about seven hundred Sikhs. The sun was about to rise when the Moslems decided to return to their camp. The Sikh soldiers were so demoralized that they dared not follow them.[45]

The news of the Moslems' victory spread like wildfire in the frontier and mountaineers in thousands began to flock to Shahīd's camp. They begged to take the oath of *bai'a* and enlist in the army. The *khans* and *sardars* who had spurned Shahīd's leadership came one after another to take an oath of allegiance to him. Khade Khan (the Khan of Hand), was the first to take the oath of *bai'a* at the hand of Shahīd; then followed Ashraf Khan, the landlord of Zaida, and a relative of Khade Khan. At Khade Khan's insistence Shahīd made Hand his general

headquarters and was lodged in Mozia' Bazaar, a mile east of Hand.[46]

With the addition of untrained and undisciplined mountaineers to the Moslem army, the problems of civil and military administration became acute. The local khans and *sardars* continued to carry on their tribal vendettas against each other. Many of the local khans hesitated to visit Shahīd because of Khade Khan's animosity toward them. Fath Khan, the *Sardar* of Panjtar so impressed Shahīd with his sincerity that he accepted Fath Khan's advice and transferred his headquarters to Panjtar. This was a suitable place from Shahīd's point of view, although Khade Khan was slighted by the decision.

Under the circumstances any coordinated effort was impossible. The problems of leadership and discipline were discussed at length. It was agreed between the *'ulamā'*, khans, *sardars* and the personal followers of Shahīd that he should be designated the Caliph of a confederation of parties. He would be the supreme commander and leader of the liberation movement, but the actual administration of the territories would remain the exclusive responsibility of the local khans and *sardars*. Furthermore, the local khans and *sardars* would be obliged to furnish the movement with a fixed amount of money and men. With these stipulations, the oath of *bai'a* was taken at the hand of Shahīd on January 11, 1827. On the next Friday the *khutba* was read in his name.[47]

In his capacity as Caliph, Shahīd issued a general proclamation inviting the Moslems to discharge their individual obligation of *jihād* against the infidels and sent personal letters and messengers to Moslem rulers, i.e., the king of Bukhara (now in the Soviet Union) Nasrūllāh; rulers of princely states, such as Amīr Dost Muhammad Khan, the Barakzai chief of Kabul; Yār Muhammad and Sultan Muhammad Khan of Kohat and Bannu; Saiyad Muhammad Khan of Hasht Nagar; Shah Mahmud Durrani of Herat; Prince Kamran, heir to the throne of Herat; Zaman Shah Durrani, in exile in Ludhana; Murad Beg, of Qanderz; Sikandar Jah, the Nizam of Hyderabad; Nawab Ahmad Ali of Rampur; and Nawab Muhammad Bhawal Khan of Bhawalpur State.[48]

His letters and messages emphasized the necessity of liberating the Moslems from the rule of non-Moslems and re-establishing an Islamic political order. For instance in his letter to Shah Sulaiman, the ruler of Chitral, Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd wrote: "Unfortunately for the last several years India has been occupied by Christians and infidels. They have dispensed with justice and [Moslems] are being oppressed. The customs and rules of Islam no longer hold sway and infidelity and

shirk [identifying inanimate or animate objects with God] are rampant. We were grieved [at the prospect of this degradation] and desired to migrate [to the frontier] to wage the *jihad* [against the non-Moslems]."[49]

Only Nawab Wazīr-ud-Daulah, heir to the Tonk throne, sent a written oath of allegiance to Shahīd and offered to come to the frontier. Shahīd asked him to wait for an opportune moment.[50] It seems that he wanted the *Nawab* to remain in Tonk and provide military and economic aid for the execution of the war.

In the British-controlled territories an elaborate organization was set up to enlist volunteers and to collect money from sympathetic Moslems. Saiyad Muhammad Ali of Rampur was assigned to work in Hyderabad, Deccan, with the assistance of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khan, 'Abdūllāh Khan and Na'īm Khan. Their responsibility was to devise ways and means to safely transport the volunteers from British-controlled territories. Saiyad Muhammad Ali worked for a while in Hyderabad, but later on he was transferred to Madras, while Mawlana Wilayat Ali replaced him in Hyderabad. In Hyderabad (Sindh) Mawlana Wilayat Ali wrote a treatise on the Caliphate in Persian. It was translated into Sindhi and circulated among Moslems of all classes. The Persian text of the treatise was also distributed in Kabul and Kandahar.

Mawlana 'Ināyat Ali was then sent to Bengal and Mawlana Muhammad Qasim of Panipat came to preach in Bombay. Mawlna Saiyad Āolād Hasan and Saiyad Hamīd-ud-Din were asked to supervise the organization and collect donations for the war chest in the United Provinces of India. A clandestine postal system was set up; Mian Din Muhammad and Mian Pīr Muhammad among others, were confidential couriers who would bring money to the frontier from British-controlled territories.[51] The movement's blood in the form of volunteers and money could thus continue to flow regardless of what might happen to individual leaders.

Among the khans of the frontier who now responded to Shahīd's call, Sultan Muhammad Khan, Saiyad Muhammad Khan (who had already taken the oath of *bai'a*), Yār Muhammad Khan and Pīr Muhammad Khan are notable. Sultan Muhammad Khan and Yār Muhammad Khan were known for their treacherous conduct in alliances and other political transactions and Shahīd was advised to spurn their allegiance. Sultan Muhammad Khan was a simpleton and although he carried himself with an air of self-confidence, he was utterly devoid of physical courage and determination. Yār Muhammad Khan on the other hand was an unscrupulous opportunist.[52] The allegiance of the two brothers was not sincere; they were forced into it by Shahīd's

popularity and only pretended obedience to him. The prospect of eighty thousand Pathans, rallied around the Crescent after the proclamation of Shahīd's caliphate was frightening to them. They did not want to be conspicuous by their absence, but they understood at the same time that Shahīd's increasing power would one day sound the death knell to their shaky regime in Peshawar.

Sultan Muhammad Khan and Yār Muhammad Khan promised to help in the war against the Sikhs. This was agreed upon in Nowshera after appropriate consultation with other khans, Fath Khan of Panjtar, Ashraf Khan of Zaida, Khade Khan of Hand and the faithful Godri Shahzada, that the Sikhs should be attacked with the united Moslem forces.[53] In March 1827, Shahīd encircled Budh Singh's forces in Shaidu (or Saidu). During the battle, while the Moslem nationalists were on the verge of victory, Yār Muhammad Khan deserted the battlefield with his clansmen because he had been warned that his collaboration with Shahīd would provoke severe retribution from Ranjit Singh. The nationalist forces were demoralized and dispersed in all directions. At the same time it was discovered that Shahīd, bedridden and unconscious, was unable to command the forces. Poison had been administered to him in food,[54] an act for which Yār Muhammed Khan was rightly held responsible.[55] The Moslems lost six thousand men in the battle.

Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd learned an important lesson from Yār Muhammad Khan's actions. He decided that the recruitment campaign should be waged not among the Pathan chiefs but among the people, who would join individually. For this purpose he made an extensive tour of Bonair and Swat State, where thousands of Pathans took the oath of *bai'a* at his hand. Sulaiman Shah, the ruler of Chitral, sent a letter to him assuring him of his loyalty.

Just about this time Hari Singh Nalwa appeared in Hazara and all the khans and *sardars* of Hazara came to Shahīd for protection. Each week volunteers were pouring in from British-controlled India and the Khalil, Khatak, Afridi, Shanwari, Nangerhari and Mahmand tribes were pledged to fight until death in the battlefield. He was hailed as a saviour from the borders of Afghanistan to Kashmir.

But the animosity of Yār Muhammad Khan, since his desertion at Shaidu, and that of Khade Khan, who had turned against Shahīd for changing his headquarters to Panjtar, continued unabated. In August, 1827 Muhammad Khan started to sabotage the liberation movement by arresting volunteers from India and subjecting them to physical torture. Mawlavi Muhbūb Ali, who was detained along with his men,

became alarmed and criticized Shahīd for having had himself declared the Caliph. When he returned home, he began to undermine the ideological work of Shahīd's agents. Under Mawlavi Mahbūb Ali's influence a large number of people were disaffected; many young men were dissuaded from volunteering.

The Enforcement of the Sharīʿa. By this time a large number of princes, khans and *sardars* had sworn allegiance to Shahīd. An important ideological question was raised about whether the *Sharīʿa*, in place of the customary laws of the Pathans, should be enforced. Shahīd had noticed that some Pathan customs came into sharp conflict with the Islamic code of social behavior. For instance, when a man died, a party of *mullas* (priests) would gather and pray for the absolution of the sins of the deceased while holding a copy of the Qur'an along with some money. A father would not give his daughter's hand in marriage unless he received a large sum of money; if the groom failed to pay the stipulated sum the father would detain his daughter until the whole sum was paid. Due to this custom a large number of young girls would remain unwed, growing old in the parents' household. The widows of the deceased were distributed among his brothers like the rest of his property. Daughters were denied any share of their father's inheritance.[98]

The liberation movement was faced with a difficult problem. Shahīd and his followers believed that it was just as important to make the Pathans conform to Islamic customs as to fight against the Sikhs. The war would cease to have a justification if the *Sharīʿa* was not enforced in the Moslem-controlled territory and Moslems continued to follow un-Islamic customs. Liberty was important only insofar as it enabled Moslems to mold their social structure in the spirit of Islam. At a general assembly of *ʿulamāʾ* khans, *sardars* and the common people, it was decided that an oath of *baiʿa* should be taken at the hand of Shahīd expressly pledging strict adherence to the *Sharīʿa.*

Accordingly, the followers of Shahīd spread out in all directions to prepare public opinion for the acceptance of the Sharīʿa. Fath Khan, the Khan of Panjtar, was told that if he desired to remain the friend and host of Shahīd, he would have to enforce the *Sharīʿa* within his domain. On February 6, 1829 at the Friday services, the *ʿulamāʾ* and nobles, including Fath Khan of Panjtar, Ashraf Khan of Zaida and Khade Khan of Hand, unanimously decided to enforce the *Sharīʿa.*

To signify their consent and allegiance to their Caliph, they individually took the oath of *baiʿa* at the hand of Shahīd. After the ceremonies

he issued a questionnaire to the *'ulamā'* in which he asked how they regarded the problem of defiance of the Caliph's authority. After deliberating on the question the *'ulamā'* issued a decree: "(1) Disobedience of the order of the Caliph is a capital sin and reprehensible crime;

"(2) If the Moslems' disobedience spreads and cannot be wiped out without inflicting capital punishment on the insurrectionists, in that case it is the obligation of all Moslems to support the Caliph in chastising them;

"(3) In an encounter between the Caliph's forces and the insurrectionists, those dying in the Caliph's ranks would achieve the status of a martyr, and the insurrectionists would suffer damnation in hell and funeral services will not be held for them."

Two weeks later, on February 20, 1829, another congregation assembled in Panjtar, mainly consisting of Fath Khan's tribesmen. They also agreed to the enforcement of the *Sharī'a* and tendered the oath of allegiance to their Caliph, Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd. He then annulled the customary laws of the Pathans and appointed *kadis* for different areas in order to enforce the *Sharī'a*. Mulla Saiyad Muhammad Habbān was appointed as the *Kadi-al-Qadat* (chief *kadi*) and Mulla Qutb-ud-Din Nangerhari was made *muhtsib* (moral censor and supervisor), assisted by three foot soldiers. They would travel from village to village and urge people to give up un-Islamic customs.

Ashraf Khan, Khade Khan and Fath Khan submitted a joint memorandum to Shahīd, professing allegiance to him; three articles expressly stated: "(1) We have decided to abandon unIslamic customs in our tribes and of our free volition accept the enforcement of the *Sharī'a* in our tribes. (2) We have voluntarily accepted Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd as our Caliph and in consequence of it took the oath of *bai'a* at his hand. (3) We had taken the oath of *bai'a* previously [in January 11, 1827] and now in the presence of *'ulamā'* reiterate our allegiance to Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd, and request him to pray for our continued obedience to him so that we may live and die in the way of the Prophet Muhammad." [57]

His efforts to enforce the *Sharī'a* and his victories on the battle-field, made Shahīd the real sovereign of the confederation. He became the source of all legal authority, which *ipso facto* meant considerable curtailment of the autonomy and prerogatives of the khans and *sardars*. Undoubtedly they retained the police functions necessary for the maintenance of law and order within their domains, but they ceased to

have real power.[58] This created an irritant which became a festering sore in the body politic of the confederation.

Had the enforcement of the *Sharī'a* been gradual and a little more lenient, it might have operated successfully, but the laws and decrees of the *Sharī'a* were enforced with ruthless severity. When Amb fell within Shahīd's jurisdiction, the enforcement of the *Sharī'a* exceeded all reasonable bounds. Hafiz 'Abdūl Latīf became the moral censor and supervisor and the men who failed to pray five times a day were whipped by his assistant, Āmān Khan of Kunjpur. Women were not shown any leniency either. During his stay in Amb, Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd whipped two women with his own hands; one of them had come from Topi and pretended to be a widow; and the second woman had neglected her religious obligations.[59]

When Samma was added to the confederation, the system of taxation was changed. Fath Khan of Panjtar, who had already consented to the levy of the tithe in his domains, urged Kadi Saiyad Muhammad Habbān to consult with other *Khans* of Samma, including Fath Khan of Zaida, Arsālā Khan, Ibrahīm Khan and Isma'īl Khan of Khalabat, and Sarfaraz Khan of Murghaz. They had fled their territories because of Sikh depradations. Fath Khan wanted them to agree in principle to the levy of the tithe when their areas were freed from the Sikhs. The Khans agreed to the proposal, but sent for their local *mullas* (priests) to consult with them. The *mullas* used to collect the tithe for their personal maintenance and its renunciation in favor of the confederation was a ticklish question. How would they live? Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd pointed out that the local *mullas*, by collecting the tithe, were usurping the legal revenue of the Caliph. The *mullas* reluctantly conceded the point, but such a deadly blow to their traditional source of income made them less than well-wishers of the movement. The *mullas* were and still are to a very large extent the leaders of public opinion. Thus the alienation of their sympathies was a short-sighted policy, for which the movement paid dearly. Almost instantaneously, the *mullas* started to undermine the revenue policy of the confederation and create misunderstanding among the people.[60]

Within a short time the confederation liberated Hand, Murghaz, Khalabat, Thand-kowi, Kahah, and other areas of Samma from Sikh rule. Kadi Saiyad Muhammad Habbān completed the tithe settlement in these areas and appointed regular collectors. For instance, Hajji Bahadur Shah Khan was deputed to collect the tithe in Tappa Āmān Za'i, including Garhi Āmān Za'i. Hajji Mahmud Khan of Rampur was the collector of district Sadam, and Mawlavi Nasīr-ud-Din of

Manglor collected the tithe of Tappa Otman-Nama, including the areas of Topi, Man'ie, Gandaf, Baja, Bam Khail, Khalabat, Murghaz, two Minaras, Kadah, Zaida, Panj-Pīr, Shah Mansūr, Kandwa and Hand. Fath Khan of Panjtar was responsible for the tithe of Khad-o-Khail. Every collector had foot soldiers to assist him, some, like Mawlavi Nasīr-ud-Din of Manglor, had at least forty. A council was created, consisting of Shaikh 'Abdūl Hakīm, Shaikh Nasīr-ud-Din, Shaikh Zai-ud-Din, Hafiz 'Abdūr Rahmān, Shaikh 'Abdūr Rahmān, Nūr Dād (both of Rai Bareli), 'Abdūl Hakīm Khan, Mulla 'Izzāt Kandahari, Mulla Qutb-ud-Din Kandahari, 'Abdūl Ghufār Kandahari and Mulla Lal Muhammad Kandahari, to help the collectors with problems of tithe collection.[61]

Since the volunteers coming from the provinces of India did not bring their women with them, a great many of them married Pathan women, sometimes in defiance of the women's parents. Such disregard for social customs bred deep resentment among the Pathans, who felt that they were being humiliated.[62] Some of the *khans* were disaffected and revolt began to break out.

Khade Khan was the first to rebel. He began intercepting volunteers that Shahīd's agents were sending from India. Often Khade Khan's men would rob and torture the volunteers. Moreover, Khade Khan started an intrigue with Ranjit Singh's General Ventura. He incited him to demand *kharaj* (tribute) from Fath Khan of Panjtar, who had rebelled against Ranjit Singh as a follower of Shahīd. General Ventura wrote a letter to Shahīd demanding his allegiance to Ranjit Singh. Shahīd rejected this demand, but sent Mawlavi Khair-ud-Din as an ambassador plenipotentiay to talk things over with General Ventura.[63] The net result of Mawlavi Khair-ud-Din's embassy was the battle of Panjtar in which General Ventura, realizing his untenable position retreated to Lahore, without causing casualties on either side.[64] However, the collaboration of Khade Khan with General Ventura was established beyond the shadow of any doubt and it was decided that he must be extirpated.

On August 8, 1829, Hand was besieged by nationalist forces and Khade Khan was cut down. Yār Muhammad Khan, the brother of the Khan of Peshawar, who had earlier betrayed Shahīd at the battle of Shaidu, took advantage of the situation. At the request of Amīr Khan and Muqarab Khan the brother-in-law of Khade Khan, he marched from Peshawar to Hand to help avenge the death of Khade Khan. At Zaida a pitched battle was fought on September 4 and 5, 1829. Yār Muhammad Khan was killed and his army dispersed. Nationalists

captured one elephant, seventy camels, about three hundred horses, six cannons, innumerable swords and guns and tons of dry fruit. Only two of their men were killed and six wounded.[65] This was a significant victory from a military standpoint.

After the removal of these two enemies the liberation movement became secure from external threats. The victories of Hand and Zaida boosted their morale; almost all of the frontier fell under their control. Nevertheless, two great sources of danger remained intact. With the death of Yār Muhammad Khan the animosity of his brother, Sultan Muhammad Khan, the Khan of Peshawar and of the Barakzai clan, was a foregone conclusion. It was also easy to forsee that Ranjit Singh would take advantage of the situation.

Sultan Muhammad Khan wasted no time in initiating the hostilities; as soon as nationalist forces withdrew from Hand he attacked the Hand fort, which was guarded by only 60 men. The commandant of the fort, Akhond Zahūr Ullāh of Jahangira, and his deputy Muhammad Khan Punjabi, withstood the siege for several days, but then surrendered the fort to Sultan Muhammad Khan on a promise of safe conduct. They were made prisoners and taken to Peshawar. Hand was returned to Amīr Khan, the brother of Khade Khan, who did however, not feel secure in his new position. He appealed to Ranjit Singh who sent 700 Sikh soldiers to help him.[66] Needless to say, any possibility of establishing friendly relations between Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd and Sultan Muhammad was now out of the question.

Meanwhile appeals for help began to pour in from Kashmir where the Moslems were determined to overthrow the rule of the Sikhs. An agreement was reached with Pa'indā Khan, the Khan of Amb and the adjoining territories, for transit facilities through his domains. His cooperation for the liberation of Kashmir was indispensible, because the access routes led through his lands. Even though Pa'indā Khan agreed to provide transit facilities, he was wary of Shahīd's popularity and influence, fearing a permanent occupation. When Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd sent an embassy to him from Sitana asking for boats to ferry troops over the river Abasin (the Indus), he objected. Instead, he sent an ultimatum saying that if his lands were crossed he would use force. Since Pa'indā Khan's relations with the Sikh General Hari Sing Nalwa, governor of Hazara, verged on active hostility, Shahīd construed his uncooperative gesture as a breach of faith.

Hostilities between the nationalists and Pa'indā Khan broke out in April, 1830 when the twin battles of 'Ashrā and Amb were fought. Pa'indā Khan's forces were routed and Shahīd occupied Kotla, Chater

Ba'i and Khabl Ba'i in addition to 'Ashrā and Amb. On April 21, 1830, a truce was concluded and Pa'indā Khan signed a treaty of submission agreeing to "accept the caliphal supremacy of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd, not collaborate in the future with the infidels, relinquish his control over Agror with the exception of the territory of Kalka'i, not encroach upon the territory of Pallal Tanolis [members of the confederation], send under the command of his son Jahandad Khan a levy of 2000 foot soldiers to Kashmir in addition to 160 horses equipped with guns which would be deployed in Samma, Shahīd's right to war against him, if he should break any of the stipulated conditions."[67]

Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd gave Pa'indā Khan a solemn promise that after his victory over Kashmir and Peshawar, he would be granted an estate of Rs. 30,000 in Kashmir and another estate of Rs. 10,000 in Peshawar.

Saiyad Zaman Shah, the ruler of the valley of Kaghan, visited Shahīd at this juncture, and told him that the governor of Kashmir, Dīwān Ram Dayal, had been recalled to Ranjit Singh's court and that it was the appropriate moment to attack Kashmir. Sulaiman Shah, the ruler of Chitral, had pledged to reinforce the nationalists in their campaigns in Kashmir. Accordingly, in June, 1830 a contingent was sent towards Kashmir under the command of Saiyad Ahmad Ali, Shahīd's nephew. At Pholra, the Sikh governor of Hazara, Hari Singh Nalwa, assisted by General Allard, made a surprise nocturnal attack and cut down a large number of men including Saiyad Ahmad Ali.[68]

In spite of the victory of Hari Singh Nalwa and General Allard Ranjit Singh was alarmed. He sent a strong force to the frontier under Kanwar Sher Singh, General Ventura and General Allard, and an embassy under Wazīr Singh, and Faqīr 'Azīz-ud-Din, his famous Moslem henchman of Lahore. The embassy wanted to negotiate a territorial settlement with Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd, in which he would be given full control of the territories west of the Indus. Shahīd sent Mawlavi Khair-ud-Din and Hajji Bahadur Shah Khan to negotiate with Kanwar Sher Singh, General Ventura and General Allard. General Ventura tried to convince the envoys that if Shahīd would consent to be a revenue collector for Ranjit Singh in the frontier, the cause of bloodshed would be entirely removed. This suggestion was contemptuously turned down. The conference was an utter failure and only confirmed the implacable hostility between the two parties.[69]

Just about this time Shahīd faced another insurrection from Ahmad Khan, the Khan of Mardan, who refused to pay the tithe. A military expedition under Kadi Muhammad Habbān brought the khan to his

knees, at the cost, however, of the *kadi's* life. Ahmad Khan escaped to Peshawar where he invited Sultan Muhammad Khan to rebellion on the plea of common interest, reminding him that all the Barakzai khans had become Shahīd's vassals, that their people had turned against them, and that Shahīd's popularity had cost them all their prerogatives. His pleas fell on receptive ears. Sultan Muhammad Khan again began scheming against Shahīd with the hope of avenging his brother's death. A coalition of three brothers, Sultan Muhammad Khan, Saiyad Muhammad Khan and Pīr Muhammad Khan, and their nephew Habīb Ullāh Khan, was formed. They attacked the nationalist troops with a strong force at Mayar.[70]

The Barakzai army numbered 4,000 foot-soldiers and 8,000 cavalry. They were equipped with two large and four small cannons. Nationalist troops did not exceed 3,500; they had not a single cannon and only 500 horses. All leading khans of the frontier fought on the nationalist side: Fath Khan of Panjtar, Mansūr Khan of Gharyals, Anand Khan of Shaywa, Mashkar Khan of Shaywa, Isma'īl Khan of Khalabat, Sarwar Khan of Aman-Zai, Khawas Kahn, and Shahbaz Khan of Akora, Fath Khan of Zaida, Dalil Khan of Toru, Nasīm Khan of Lond Khor, Kadi Saiyad Amīr of Kotha, Mulla Baha-ud-Din of Topi and Mulla Baqi of Topi.[71]

A pitched battle was fought at Mayar in which 28 nationalists lost their lives, 80 Barakzai soldiers were killed, and a large number wounded. Shahīd realized that if the Punjab was to be liberated from Sikh rule the power of the Khan of Peshawar, Sultan Muhammad Khan must be destroyed. Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd, Shaikh Walī Muhammad, Khawja Muhammad, Mawlavi Mazher Ali of 'Azīm Abad, Arbāb Bahrām Khan and Fath Khan of Panjtar met and decided to march on Peshawar.

Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd personally led the march of 7,000 troops to Peshawar. He discovered in Charsada, Tangi, Shab-Qadr and other areas under the khanate of Sultan Muhammad Khan, that people were dissatisfied with his oppressive rule. At Raygi, the town of Arbāb Bahrām Khan's tribe, he learned that the Barakzai Khan had abandoned Peshawar and sent his family to Kohat. At Gamat Farosa Shahīd received Arbāb Faiz Ūllāh Khan who brought a message of truce from Sultan Muhammad Khan.

The nationalists marched unopposed into Peshawar through the Kabuli gate. Shahīd along with Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd, Fath Khan of Panjtar, Arbāb Bahrām Khan and some other counsellors were lodged in Sarai Gor Khatri or in the houses in the neighborhood.

Arbāb Faiz Ūllāh Khan, negotiating on behalf of Sultan Muhammad Khan, urged Shahīd to return the khanate of Peshawar to Sultan Muhammad Khan, for which he was willing to sign a military alliance with Shahīd and pay reparations of Rs. 40,000. Half of this sum was to be paid in Peshawar, one fourth in Charsada, and one fourth in Panjtar on Shahīd's return. Shahīd agreed to the proposal in principal but his leading advisers, including Fath Khan of Panjtar, Isma'īl Khan, Ja'ffār Khan Tarīn, Mulla Lal Muhammad, Mulla Qutb-ud-Din, Mulla Nūr Muhammad of Kandahar and Arbāb Bahrām Khan, thought it dangerous. They expected Sultan Muhammad Khan to be as unreliable in the future as he had been in the past and suspected that his submission was the result of the defeat at Mayar rather than a change of heart.

Arbāb Bahrām Khan proposed to have the khanate transferred to him if Shahīd was determined not to rule Peshawar directly. He offered to sign a military alliance, to provide a levy of 4,000 troops, whom he would maintain, and to enforce the *Sharī'a* within his domains.[72] Moreover, the people of Peshawar who had suffered the depredations of the Sikhs under a feeble khan wanted Shahīd to take over the khanate of Peshawar and to restore peace. The pleas of his advisors made no impression on Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd. The khanate of Peshawar was returned to Sultan Muhammad Khan in November, 1830.[73] Before long, the liberation movement had to pay dearly for this unwise decision.

Sultan Muhammad Khan acknowleged Shahīd's supremacy and appointed his officers to the administration of Peshawar. Mawlavi Mazher Ali was appointed *kadi* of Peshawar; Mawlavi Qamr-ud-Din and a few troops were left to assist him. Haji Bahdur Shah Khan and Haji Mahmud Khan were appointed to collect the tithe in Charsada. In Panjtar, Mawlavi Muhammad Ramzan was made chief *kadi* while the administration of Kot Lung, Lond Khor and Dakie became the responsibility of Mawlavi Khair-ud-Din. A contingent of Kandahri and Hindūstānī troops, including Saiyad Ja'ffār Ali Naqwi, Mian Zia-ud-Din Phulti, Hafiz Wajī-ud-Din Baghpati and Karīm Bakhsh of Delhi were chosen to assist Mawlavi Khair-un-Din.

At Garhi Aman Za'i, Shahīd decreed that all Moslem married women who had been prevented by their parents from joining their husbands because the bride-price had not been paid, should be sent to their husbands within eight days if their husbands lived within eight miles; within a month if the husbands were in far off places; and within three months if the husbands were in foreign lands.[74] Complaints were

brought to Shahīd's notice that the *kadis* were very severe in their dealings with the people and often times charged exhorbitant fines for minor offences.

Sultan Muhammad Khan adhered to the agreement for some time and paid the stipulated sum of money. However Shahīd had no sooner retired to Panjtar than Sultan Muhammad started to scheme again. This time, instead of resorting to force he made common cause with local *mullas* who were disgruntled because they had been denied a share in the tithe and with parents who had been forced to send their daughters to join their husbands. The Khan of Khashgi, whose daughter was rumored to have married against his will a volunteer from India forgot his tribal vendetta and made up with his enemy, Sultan Muhammad Khan. He uncovered the head of his daughter at a public gathering and declared that she had lost all her honor. The girl, in the company of her relatives, roamed from village to village inciting the people against the nationalists, who were, they said, imposing their tyranny over the Pathans and taking away their maidens one by one. This kind of propaganda kindled intense hatred in the Pathans against Shahīd.[75]

After the fall of Peshawar, Sultan Muhammad Khan had shown Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd a declaration bearing the seals of numerous *mullas*, which stated that although he claimed to be waging a war against the Sikhs, he was in reality the founder of a new religion which did not revere tombs or offer food or money for the souls of the dead and preached disbelief in the miracles of the saints. Moreover the document asserted that he was an agent of the British and wanted to subjugate the Pathans for them.[76]

This falsehood was inspired by Ranjit Singh but served Sultan Muhammad Khan very well in his campaign of villification against Shahīd. The Pathans were also told by the *mullas* that (1) Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd was a schismatic and innovator and indulged in sexual pleasures; (2) he was a sadist who confiscated Moslem property without reason; (3) he was actually employed in the British armed forces, but had been expelled by the British authorities since Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd and others considered him the promised messiah; (4) he lured Khade Khan into peaceful parleys and then had him murdered; (5) he was forcefully assigning the Pathan maidens to his followers.

Needless to say all these charges were absurd. When inquiries were addressed to Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd, he refuted them all in his letters of April 11, 1830, addressed to the ten *'ulamā'* of the

frontier.[77] However, there was no chance to expose these falsehoods and the base motives of their fabricators during the spiteful whisper campaign launched on a gigantic scale by Sultan Muhammad Khan. The atmosphere was charged and the whole frontier was ready to blow up. This was exactly what Sultan Muhammad Khan wanted; the hour to avenge the death of his brother had arrived. During this dangerous time in November 1830 nationalist contingents were stationed in nine military bases on the frontier. One contingent was deployed in Amb under the command of Shaikh Būland Bakht of Deo-band and a sizeable number of troops were guarding Garhi Chatter Bai under Hafiz Mūstafā of Kandhla. Another detachment was stationed in Lond Khor under Mawlavi Khair-ud-Din. A few troops were stationed in Khabil under the command of Pīr Khan Morian and another contingent was based at Topi under Mawlavi Nasīr-ud-Din of Manglore. Haji Hamzā Ali Risāldār was at Shaywa with artillery. Mawlavi Hamīd Ali of Jhanjana with thirty soldiers was at Manie where the flour mills were located. Some of the injured and sick were convalescing in Dakhara and Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd was as usual in Panjtar with a considerable number of his followers.

Sultan Muhammad Khan and his agents arranged to attack all of the nine bases in one night and to take them by surprise. The signal was given at Peshawar. One evening the chief *kadi* of Peshawar, Mawlavi Mazher Ali, was summoned by Sultan Muhammad Khan for consultation and was murdered. Arbāb Faiz Ūllāh Khan, who had negotiated the return of the *khanate* of Peshawar to Sultan Muhammad Khan, was also assassinated for his fidelity to the treaty agreements with Shahīd.[78] In a week's time nationalist forces were uprooted from their bases and a large majority of them killed. When Fath Khan of Panjtar realized that the conspiracy was wide-spread, he reluctantly agreed to Shahīd's suggestion that they migrate to Kashmir. Shahīd was heart-broken by the actions of Sultan Muhammad Khan and his group. In disgust he marched out of Panjtar in 1830 and proceeded toward the Chamla valley.

The chiefs in the Muzaffarabad area had appealed to him for help. The Sikh policy in this region was to play one Moslem chief against another. They had thus succeeded in ejecting Zabardast Khan of Muzaffarabad and had had Najaf Khan installed in his place. Mansūr Ali Khan of Daraba was fleeing from village to village in fear of his brother Mu'iz-ud-Din who was collaborating with the Sikhs. Habīb Ūllāh Khan of Garhi had fled to the Kaghan valley. Shahīd felt that if these chiefs could pool their resources, an effective and powerful

coalition would be created to oust the Sikhs from Kashmir and other adjoining areas. However, there was not enough time to execute this plan. Ranjit Singh sent a detachment of troops against them under Sher Singh. Desultory warfare with the Sikhs erupted amid rugged mountains and for a while success attended them. On May 6, 1831 they were surprised by the Sikhs at a place called Balakot, where Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd and Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd were killed in action."[79]

Of all the Pathan chieftains who had initially shown loyalty to Shahīd, Arbāb Behrām Khan alone remained steadfast in his devotion. He was the Chief of Tehkal, an area near Peshawar. He understood the larger plans of the movement, which aimed at the liberation of the frontier areas and the Punjab from the Sikhs. The parochial and material considerations which loomed so large in the minds of other frontier chieftains seemed unimportant to him measured against the ideal of national liberation.[80] Even at Balakot, where loyalty to Shahīd meant certain death, Arbāb Behrām Khan did not waver. He lost his life while fighting shoulder to shoulder with Shahīd.

Among the Moslem princes of India and Afghanistan, Nawab Wazīr-ud-Daulah of Tonk was the only one who never failed Shahīd and his followers. His greatest contribution, from a historian's point of view, lies in the fact that he had several histories of the nationalist movement written. Three years after the death of Shahīd the Nawab succeeded his father. He gathered together some of those who had fought under Shahīd and gave them handsome grants to write the history of the movement. In Tonk, Saiyad Muhammad Ali, the nephew of Shahīd, completed *Makhzan-i-Ahmadi,* which is an authentic account of the period from Shahīd's childhood to his return from the pilgrimage (1786-1823). It was published in Agra in 1882. Saiyad Ja'ffār Ali Naqvi, who headed the Secretariat of the movement in the frontier, wrote *Manzūrat al-Sa'ada fī Ahwal al-Ghazvāt-o-Shūh'adā,* which consists of twelve hundred pages and describes in detail the events and battles fought, including the last one in 1831 under Shahīd. The Nawab used to have Shahīd's followers congregate in a mosque and would ask each of them to narrate the events and affairs of his leadership in the frontier. If all of them concurred in one version of an incident it was recorded. With this utmost care *Waqī'ā-i-Ahmadi* was compiled; it contains almost three thousand pages. This book is undoubtedly the most authentic and richest collection regarding the liberation movement.

Nawab Wazīr-ud-Daulah himself wrote *Wasāyā al-Wazīr* which

included the anecdotes and affairs of Shahīd which were personally known to him.[81] All these histories are in Persian and have yet to be translated into the national languages of India and Pakistan. The importance of the Nawab's services to the national cause cannot be over emphasized. Without him a significant phase in the development of Moslem nationalism would have always remained shrouded in myth and political propaganda.

Continuation of War After Shahīd's Death. The pillars of the national liberation movement were felled at Balakot, but the movement did not die. At the time of Shahīd's death a portion of his army under Mawlavi Muhammad Qasim was absent on an expedition against the Sikh ruler of Muzaffarabad. The death of Shahīd put an end to the expedition. Mawlavi Muhammad Qasim returned and gathering together those soldiers who had escaped from the fight marched to Sitana, taking with them the family of Shahīd. This village belonged to Saiyad Akbar, an intimate friend and disciple of Shahīd. A council of the remaining followers under the leadership of Mawlavi Muhammad Qasim was held. It was determined that they should for the present remain at Takhtaband in Bonair, a village in which the family of Saiyad Akbar was very powerful.[82] Inquiries were then made as to the manner in which Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd had met his death.

The matter was greatly complicated because none of the associates of Shahīd who survived the battle of Balakot actually saw him being killed. None saw his dead body, although a few were reported to have seen him hit in the leg by a bullet and injured in the head by a stone. Word was spread to the effect that Shahīd, having been wounded, had been taken away by a few *gujārs* (cattle ranchers) through a rivulet known as Satbana.[83]

Mawlavi Muhammad Qasim forthwith sent letters to the different deputies of Shahīd in India, in which he gave an account of the disaster at Balakot and their present distress as a result of the disappearance of their chief. He also asked for assistance in men and money. When the letter reached Patna, Mawlavis Wilayat Ali and 'Inayāt Ali were on tour, preaching to the Moslems of the Deccan and East (Pakistan) Bengal. They quickly returned and a consultation was held as to their future course of action. The death of Shahīd was a great misfortune for the movement. There was no leader to fill his position. Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd had fallen with him and Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī had died some years earlier on the frontier. Another important question to be decided was the legality of the war in the

absence of the Caliph. Mawlavi Wilayat Ali believed that Shahīd had disappeared rather than died and actually wrote a pamphlet, *Da'wāt*, in which he vehemently challenged the statement of his death, which he attributed to Satan. After the defeat of Balakot, he was, according to Mawlavi Wilayat Ali, ordered by God Almighty to spend some time in the mountains in silent prayers and a forty-day fast. People could actually go and see him, "like the bright sun illuminating the universe." [84]

The belief in the disappearance of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd lingered on for a long time. Mawlavi Yahya Ali of Patna, who was tried by a British court in 1864, is reported to have been fond of reciting, while in custody, a couplet of the famous Urdu poet Khawja Mīr Dard, pointing to his belief in the reappearance of Shahīd.

The myth of Shahīd's disappearance was probably invented to build up the morale of his followers. However, it has been conclusively established that after the battle of Balakot, Sher Singh had the body of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd identified and burnt. Ranjit Singh "ordered a royal salute to be fired, and the city of Amritsar was illuminated in honour of the event." [85]

The death of Shahīd split his followers into two factions: those who believed in his death and those who persuaded themselves to believe in his disappearance. Mawlana Muhammad Is'hāq and his followers in Delhi (afterwards known as the Delhi party) rejected the myth of his disappearance and more or less severed their relations with the party of Mawlana Wilayat Ali, known as the Sadiq-puri party, after his residence in Sadiq-pur lane in Patna.

Sadiq-puri Party and the Continuation of War. Since the Sadiq-puri party believed that Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd had merely disappeared, they insisted that no new Caliph could be elected. His continued absence however, rendered it necessary to choose a new leader. The selection of the leader was entrusted to Shahīd's deputies in India. They assembled in large numbers at Delhi and elected Mawlavi Nasīr-ud-Din. It was decided that he should march through Tonk and Sindh to join the other followers at Takhtaband in Bonair. At Tonk Mawlavi Nasīr-ud-Din was joined by numerous faithful adherents and received valuable donations of money and arms. From there he moved on to Shikarpur in Sindh, where he decided to stay until he could muster a sufficient force to challenge the Sikhs. About 1833 he was joined by Shahīd's family and the remnant of his army, which had fled to Takhtaband. More recruits poured in from the

Indian provinces and East Bengal and liberal donations of money were forwarded by Shahīd's deputies. With these reinforcements Mawlavi Nasīr-ud-Din set out for the frontier.

In 1839 Lord Auckland, having advocated the cause of the unpopular and exiled Afghan monarch Shah Shuja, marched an armed force of British troops into Afghanistan. They deposed Dost Muhammad and in his place reinstated Shah Shuja.[86] Dost Muhammad started hostilities against the British and invited Mawlavi Nasīr-ud-Din to participate in this struggle. Mawlavi Nasir-ud-Din was inclined to aid Dost Muhammad, but many of the leading *'ulamā'* dissented and returned home with their followers leaving only about a thousand men with the *mawlavi*. He marched toward Kabul and, encamping near Dadur, pushed forward with three hundred picked men to support Dost Muhammad. They were ordered to assist in the defence of Ghazni and were totally destroyed when the citadel was assaulted and captured by British troops. The capture of Kabul followed quickly. Mawlavi Nasīr-ud-Din's dispirited troops dispersed; a great many of them returning to their homes.[87]

Mawlana Muhammad Qasim returned to the Kaghan Valley and set up his headquarters at Kawai, where Zamin Shah and Nawbat Shah, the chiefs of the Kaghan Valley, became his disciples. He sent letters to the deputies of Shahīd in India exhorting them to support the war of liberation. From Patna, Mawlana 'Inayāt Ali quickly came to the frontier and assumed command of the troops. Under his command the Sikhs were attacked and driven out of Balakot.[88]

Volunteers again began to pour in from the British-controlled territories and the British took no precaution to prevent them. Hunter tells a story of an Englishman named William Wilson, who had large indigo concerns in the northwestern provinces of British India. Wilson said that it was customary for the more pious Moslems in his employment to lay aside a fixed share of their wages for the war chest. The more daring went to serve for longer or shorter periods in the Moslem army on the frontier. As his Hindu overseers every now and then begged for a leave for the annual celebration of their fathers' obsequies, so the Moslem indigo bailiffs were wont between 1830 and 1846 to cite the religious duty of joining Shahīd's followers as a ground for a few months' leave.[89]

Mawlana Wilayat Ali, meanwhile, toured lower Bengal and continued to collect money and men in the chief towns along the valley of the Ganges, where Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd had preached on his journey to Calcutta in 1820 and 1821. The death of Ranjit Singh on

June 27, 1839 occupied the Sikh court with the problem of succession. Mawlana Wilayat Ali forthwith proceeded to the frontier and took over the command of the nationalist army from his younger brother 'Inayāt Ali. Taking advantage of the confusion in the Sikh ranks after Ranjit Singh's death, Mawlana Wilayat Ali occupied the northern Hazara districts.[90] The movement again gained strength in men and money and above all in self-confidence. The Sikh position deteriorated further and it seemed as if the liberation of the frontier was once more within sight. However, this turned out to be a myopic view of the situation. The British government on the other side of the Satlaj was looking forward to the opportunity of overthrowing the shaky Sikh power at Lahore, thus extending their power to all of India.

British-Sikh relations deteriorated in early 1845, culminating in hostilities. At the battle of Sobraon on February 10, 1846 the Sikh forces were utterly routed and the Punjab and its dependencies in the frontier annexed to the British dominions. As successor to the Sikh power the British government warned the Moslem nationalists that any further encroachment on British dominions would invoke reprisals. In 1847 their forces were overpowered by the British and on April 13, Mawlana Wilayat Ali and Mawlana 'Inayāt Ali were sent, under custody, to their homes in Patna. On July 23, 1847 the magistrate there took security from them and from two of their wealthiest followers, Hasham Dad Khan and Dilawar Khan, as a guarantee for their future conduct.[91]

Mawlanas Wilayat Ali and 'Inayāt Ali could not be restrained from carrying on the war as long as India remained a *Dar-ul-Harb*. In 1850 they were found preaching the individual obligation to wage war against the British in the Rajshahi district of East (Pakistan) Bengal, where they also had to give bonds to keep the peace. On repetition of these actions they were twice turned out of the district. In 1851, although they were bound—so far as parchment bonds and sureties could bind them—to remain at their homes in Patna, they proceeded to the frontier.

The following year Mawlana Wilayat Ali deemed his plans ripe for execution. He had found out that in case of an attack the British were planning to send out the Fourth Native Infantry stationed at Rawalpindi. Mawlana Wilayat Ali established extensive correspondence with the Moslem soldiers of the Fourth Native Infantry and they agreed that the regiment would revolt rather than crush the Moslem national liberators. A regular organization was established for the purpose of transporting men and arms from Bengal to the frontier. In

Patna the entire Moslem population was supporting the liberation movement; even the police were in league with them. Mawlana Ahmad Ūllāh in Patna successfully resisted the search of his premises, where seven hundred of his followers had assembled to repulse the British authorities by force of arms. The British government was alarmed especially when their secret service seized the correspondence with the Fourth Native Infantry.

The movement suffered an irreparable loss when Mawlana Wilayat Ali passed away in October, 1852. The British smashed their plans and convicted several of the Moslem soldiers of the Fourth Native Infantry for having corresponded with the nationalists.[69]

However, the liberation movement survived. Between 1850 and 1857 the British government was forced to send out 16 distinct expeditions totaling 33,000 regular troops. Between 1850 and 1863 the number rose to 20 separate expeditions, totaling 60,000 regular troops, besides irregular auxiliaries and police. In 1857 the nationalists formed a coalition with the Yusafzai and Panjtar chiefs. They attacked the camp of Lieutenant Horne, the Assistant Commissioner, who scarcely escaped with his life. The British government retaliated by sending an army of 5,000 men under Sir Sidney Cotton. After a pitched battle Sir Sidney Cotton's column burned the villages of the Moslem nationalists' allies, razed or blew up the most important forts and destroyed their headquarters at Sitana. Their power was shaken so little, that they merely transferred their headquarters to Mulka in the territory of another tribe. On September 7, 1863, the camp of the British Guide Corps was attacked. A week later the British feudatory state of Amb was invaded and British pickets upon the banks of the Indus were also fired upon. In a formal manifesto war was declared against the English and all Moslems were summoned to the struggle.[70]

On October 18, 1863, a British army of 7,000 men under General Sir Neville Chamberlain set out with 4,000 mules and other beasts of burden, for which the whole of the Punjab had been ransacked. The next evening a column entered the Ambeyla Pass. The British base of operations was held by a strong cordon of troops. Behind them were heavily garrisoned frontier stations filled with cavalry, infantry and artillery. On October 23 the Bonairs attacked a reconnoitering party. A few days later the spiritual head of the Swat principality, 'Abdūl Ghafūr, threw in his lot with the liberation movement. The British found advance in the mountains impossible but considered a move backward worse than defeat. The nationalists' position gave every advantage to men trained from boyhood in mountain warfare. General

Chamberlain was severely wounded and fourteen English commanding officers were killed along with 213 soldiers.[84] In December, 1863 a pitched battle was fought under the command of General Garvock, the Moslem nationalists were routed. The British forces could have reached Sitana but decided to destroy Mulka instead. This village was a military base of the nationalists and contained numerous workshops and a rude powder factory. It was set on fire by English officers on December 22. The great column of smoke rising from the ruins proclaimed that the government had accomplished its objective.

For the next four years the Moslem nationalists were not able to reorganize their forces. Moreover their coalition was torn by internal quarrels. By February, 1868, having finally been reinforced by Bengali Moslems and their donations to the war chest, a column of seven hundred fighting men set out in the hope of effecting a coalition of the frontier tribes. They attacked the British outposts in the Agror Valley. On October 30 the British troops faced the nationalists under the directions of the Commander-in-Chief of India and the immediate command of General Wilde, C.B. The contest was unequal and the British had no difficulty in defeating the Moslems who had travelled all the way from Bengal to participate in the struggle for freedom. With the campaign of 1868 the liberation movement launched by Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd came to an end.

Wahhābī or Walīullahī? The liberation movement led by Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd and his followers has been presented as a Wahhābi movement in India. It was said to have drawn inspiration from the reformation of Muhammad ʿAbdūl Wahhāb (1703-1787) of Nejd, Arabia. The author of this view is William W. Hunter, a British writer. His description of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd and his followers as Wahhābīs has misled western writers regarding the nature of the movement. Following Hunter, *The Dictionary of Islam* describes Shahīd as "the freebooter and bandit of Rai Bareli," who imbibed Wahhābī doctrines on his pilgrimage to Mecca.[85]

A highly authoritative reference work, *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (1934), goes one step farther than Hunter. It accepts the view that Shahīd "was a Wahhābī apostle in India" and ascribes a "work by Muhammad Isma'il [Shahīd], nephew of Saiyad Ahmad, *al-Sirāt al-Mūstaqīm,* to be the Kur'an of the Wahhabis of India." [86] The statement of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* does not correspond to reality. Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd, although the author of *Sirāt al-Mūstaqīm,* was not related to Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd by either blood or marriage. He was

a grandson of Shah Walīullāh and a nephew of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz. Hunter's misinterpretation is laid bare by two dates which he quotes in describing Shahīd's contact with the Wahhābīs of Arabia. Commenting on the meteoric rise of the Wahhābī power in Arabia, Hunter says: "It was Mehmet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, who at last succeeded in crushing the Reformation [Wahhābīsm]. In 1812, Thomas Keith, a Scotchman under the Pasha's son, took Medina by storm. Mecca fell in 1813, and five years later, this vast power . . . vanished."[97] After setting the stage for Shahīd's alleged conversion to Wahhābīsm, Hunter adds that Shahīd "found the Holy City [on his pilgrimage in 1822-3] just emerged from a Reformation by a Bedouin of the desert, and similar in principles to his own belief."[98]

Actually Shahīd's pilgrimage to Mecca took place ten years after the Wahhābī theocracy had been overthrown by Muhammad Ali Pasha. At that time a strong Wahhābī movement could not have been found in Mecca. However, Hunter says: "While at Mecca, Sayyid Ahmad attracted the notice of the authorities by the similarity of his teaching to that of the Bedouin Sectaries, from whom the Holy City had lately suffered so much. He was publicly degraded and expelled from the town."[99] Actually, as described above, the deputies of the Ottoman Sultan received him with honor.

The Wahhābī movement of Arabia owed its origin to Muhammad 'Abdūl Wahhāb. He and his followers adopted the principles of Taqī-al-Din Ahmad ibn-Taymiyāh (1263-1328), who was born in Haran and flourished in Damascus. A follower of Imam ibn-Hanbal, ibn-Taymiyāh bowed to no authority other than the Qur'an, Apostolic tradition, and the practice of the community. He lifted his voice high against innovations *(bid'ah)*, saint-worship, vows and pilgrimages to shrines.[100]

When the collaboration between Muhammad 'Abdūl Wahhāb and Muhammad Ibn Sa'ūd started in 1744, blood-spilling for the purity of faith and the interest of the state became the rule in Arabia.[101] The Wahhābī reformers in their puritanical zeal went so far as to "demolish the house of the noble Khadijah, the wife of our Prophet, the dwelling in which the Prophet was born, and other places dedicated to certain saints in Makkah [Mecca]."[102] The Wahhābīs razed the shrines of Islam because the people worshipped them and, in doing so, committed the cardinal sin of *shirk*.[103] The Wahhābīs believed that blood could legitimately be shed and property confiscated until the people repented.[104]

In spite of the purity of their faith Wahhābīs were despised by the

Moslem world for their ferocity. It is possible that Hunter deliberately wanted to make Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd and his followers suspect by presenting them as disciples of the Wahhābīs. Probably Hunter's interpretation corresponded to British imperial interest of the time. He wrote forty-one years after the death of Shahīd, evidently without consulting original sources which undoubtedly would have been available to him.

It is true that the liberation movement had certain religious principles in common with the Wahhābī movement of Arabia (i.e. the emphasis on the unity of God, and the denunciation and suppression of *shirk*).[105] But this was only a coincidence. Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd, or Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd and their followers did not owe a doctrinal debt to Muhammad 'Abdūl Wahhāb. Their movement was the spiritual descendant of Shah Walīullāh's reformation.

The Delhi Party. Mawlana Muhammad Is'hāq's Delhi party which believed in Shahīd's death reviewed its ideological position, arriving at two courses of action: the establishment of political relations with Ottoman Turkey and the adoption of the doctrines of the Hanafi School of Islamic thought. They decided to eject all those from membership who did not follow the doctrines of Shah Walīullāh as propounded by Shah 'Abdūl Azīz.[106] Mawlana Muhammad Is'hāq (1778-1845) did not succeed very well as an organizer and in disappointment migrated to Mecca in 1842. The task was entrusted to a committee composed of Mawlanas Qutb-ud-Din, Muzaffar Husain Kandhalwi and 'Abdūl Ghani of Delhi, with Mawlana Mamlūk Ali as chairman. The committee decided to quit the battlefield and chose instead to educate the Moslems in schools, thus at least safeguarding their faith and culture.

Prominent members of the Delhi party, including Mawlana Mamlūk Ali, took up positions at "Ghazi-ud-Din's Institute", generally known as the Delhi College. This college had been established in 1792 by Nawab Ghazi-ud-Din Firuz Jang, the son of Nizām-ul-Mūlk, the founder of the state of Hyderabad, Deccan.[107] In the second half of the nineteenth century many of Mawlana Mamlūk Ali's students became outstanding leaders in the development of modern trends in Moslem thought and culture. These leaders included Mawlana Muhammad Qasim, Mawlana Rashīd Ahmad of Gangoh, Mawlavi Nazīr Ahmad, Mawlavi Zaka Ullāh of Delhi and Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan.[108]

The wars of 1857 against the British rule split the Delhi party into two factions. One faction of '*ulamā*', notably Amir Imdād Ūllāh, Mawlana 'Abdūl Ghani and Mawlana Muhammad Ya'qūb of Delhi fought

for Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Moghul sovereign. They declared the 1857 war, a *jihadi* war of the Moslems. After the re-establishment of the British power in India this group clandestinely fled to Mecca to join their leader Mawlana Muhammad Is'hāq. The second faction, led by Mawlana Nazīr Husain of Delhi and Mawlana Shaikh Muhammad of Thana declared their neutrality and did not consider the 1857 wars as legitimate *jihād*.[109] Some followers of Mawlana Muhammad Is'hāq, led by Mawlana Muhammad Qasim, realized after 1857 that it was useless to use force against the overwhelming British. Therefore they decided to capture the minds of the Moslems by teaching them in the mosques. In 1867, a *dar-ul-'ulūm* (advanced institute of learning) was established in Deoband by Mawlana Muhammad Qasim.[110]

The Deoband School, as the institute is known in the subcontinent, stood for definite religio-political goals. Shah Walīullāh was their religious mentor, his works their textbooks. Their plan was to train enough *'ulamā'* to be able to send them out into the country where they would teach Shah Walīullāh's philosophy in the mosques. Politically they aimed at closer relations with Ottoman Turkey. The Mecca emigres of the Delhi party could thus be a useful link between the trained *'ulamā'* of the Deoband School and the Caliph-Sultan of Turkey. They remained indifferent toward the British government, waiting for the opportune moment when the British would start hostilities with the Sultan and they would collaborate with Turkey. They would sabotage the British power in India and paralyze her war efforts against Turkey. This was, in a nutshell, the Deoband School strategy for gaining political freedom from the British.[111]

This strategy may appear naive, but in view of Turkish overtures it seemed promising. During the nineteenth century the Turks again emphasized the claim of their Sultan to be the Caliph of the Sunni Moslem world. Sultan 'Abdūl Hamīd II, who came to the throne at a period of trouble and disaster for the Ottoman Empire, had the caliphal claim inserted into the constitution which he promulgated on December 24, 1876. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 proved disastrous for Turkey. It culminated in 1878 in the Treaty of Berlin which deprived the Sultan of a large part of his European dominions. He thus turned his eyes to Asia in hope of moral and material support. He sent his emissaries to India and other Moslem countries to remind the faithful that there was still a Caliph in Islam and to urge them to rally around his standard.[112]

In fact this political development was the forerunner of the Caliphate movement that gripped the minds of the Moslems in the years 1914

to 1930. Under the Moghul sovereigns, who had assumed caliphal titles, the Moslems had stopped owing allegiance to outside authorities. However, after the overthrow of Moghul rule the transference of Moslem emotional attachment to the Caliph of Turkey was not a political schizophrenia in the Moslems' frame of reference. Was not the Delhi Sultanate a *de jure* limb of the Eastern Caliphate? Was not the Sultan of Turkey a Caliph of all the Sunni world? Since no caliph could have succeeded Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd, the rendering of allegiance to the Turkish Caliph was indeed understandable. The cultivation of extra-territorial allegiance after 1857 on the part of the *'ulamā,* was a great blow to any reasonable hope for the merging of Moslems and Hindus in an Indian partnership.

The leaders of the Deoband School passed through four distinct phases: (a) 1857-1872 was the era of struggle and intellectual crisis; (b) 1874-1884, the period in which they founded the school; (c) 1884-1920, the period of intense political activity, both open and clandestine; (d) the contemporary period.[113] We have already discussed their educational program in the first and second phases and we will now deal briefly with their political activities during the latter stages. The Deoband *'ulamā'* first of all faced the delicate question of the readjustment of Moslem-Hindu relations.

The Emergence of the All-India Congress. The national awakening of the Hindus was stimulated by Emperor Aurangzeb's policies. Western institutions established by the British government further sharpened their national consciousness. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Hindus organized socio-political organizations aimed at winning greater economic and political rights from the British government. At the same time they urged the Hindus to acquire a western education. In this regard the services of Rammohan Roy (1776-1833), the prophet of Hindu nationalism and the father of modern India, are outstanding. The final decision of Lord William Bentinck in 1835 in favor of western learning, even against the recommendations of the Board of Directors of the East India Company in London, "was largely due to Rammohan Roy's own bias towards the Occidentalists, and the influence he exercized over the public opinion of the day."[114] The Moslems with one voice spurned western education and in sullen dejection remained aloof from modern schools.

All over India and particularly in the areas of Hindu majority, Hindu organizations sprung up. The British Indian Association in Bengal started in 1851 was an active power for nearly half a century. The

Bombay Association, which had a shorter career than its counterpart in Bengal, did outstanding civic and cultural work under the leadership of men like Sir Mangaldoss Nathubhi and Mr. Naoroji Furdunji. The Association owed its origin to Dadabhi Naoroji and Juggannath Sanker Seth. The East India Association superseded this body in the seventies of the last century. In the south, public life was inaugurated by *The Hindu,* among whose founders were names of M. Veeraraghdvachariar, Rangiah Naidu, G. Subrahmania Aiyar and N. Subbarau Pantulu. In Maharashtra, the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha,* which started at about the same time as *The Hindu,* was the medium through which civic work was carried on by men like Rao Bahadur, K. L. Nulkar and S. H. Chiplonkar. In Bengal another organization was founded in 1876 called the Indian Association. The moving spirit of this new body was Surendra Nath Banerjee and the first Secretary Ananda Mohan Bose.

The press was also beginning to make itself felt by the authorities. In 1875 there were as many as 475 newspapers, mostly in the provincial languages, almost all of them owned and operated by Hindus. No organization was more powerful in jolting the Hindu mind from its centuries of slumber than the *Brahmo Samaj* of Calcutta, founded by Raja Rammohan Roy on August 20, 1828.[115] Throughout its long history the *Brahmo Samaj* has remained rigorously theistic, opposed to idol worship and advocating progressive social reform. Although deeply rooted in Hindu religion and recognizing the Vedas as the main source of inspiration,[116] Raja Rammohan Roy probably derived his monotheistic tendencies from his early Moslem education at Patna.[117] In Calcutta he also came into contact with Christian missionaries and European intellectuals who exposed him to western liberal thought. In fact the driving force in Raja Rammohan Roy was the desire to found a form of religion capable of countering the missionaries' attacks on Hinduism. He wanted to do this in a manner which would conform to the scientific spirit of the age. The Raja fervently believed that in doing so he was reviving the ancient character of Hindu religion. The simple ritual and the spirit of devotion which pervaded the atmosphere of the *Brahmo Samaj* gatherings represented to him a return to the ancient form of Vedic worship.[118] However, orthodox Hindus charged that this reformist movement disregarded the past and was a revolt from the time-honored Hindu beliefs. A very large section of Hindu society began to doubt the wisdom of breaking away from old Hindu institutions.

The *Arya Samaj,* in the north-west of India, was founded in 1875

by Swami Dyanada Sarswati (1824-1883), a Hindu monk and preacher from Kathiawar state. The *Arya Samaj* was linked with the Theosophical Society of the south for a very short time but the tie was broken in 1881. Swami Dyananda Sarswati held fast to the cult of the infallibility of the Vedas and the superiority of Vedic culture. His veneration of the Vedas was shared by many who wanted to challenge western thought. This Hindu reaction often took extravagant forms, but gradually it attained a certain moderation. It fostered a spirit of aggressive Hindu nationalism giving the educated a new self-respect and pride in their ancient heritage.[119]

Commenting on the ideological base of these organizations, the official historian of the All India National Congress, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, says, "all these movements were really so many threads in the strand of Indian nationalism, and the Nation's duty was to evolve a synthesis so as to be able to dispel prejudice and superstition, to renovate and purify the old faith [Hinduism], the Vedantic idealism, and reconcile it with the nationalism of the new age. The Indian National Congress was destined to fulfill this great mission."[120]

The man who was responsible for bringing the Indian National Congress into existence was an Englishman of the Manchester liberal school, Allen Octavian Hume. On his invitation the first session of the All India National Congress was held from December 25 to 31, 1885 in Bombay. At the suggestion of Hume, W. C. Bannerjee was elected President of the Congress. In his presidential address Bannerjee said that the objects of the Congress were: "The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in these parts of the Empire. . . . The eradication by direct friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in our beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign."[121]

The second point makes an oblique reference to the desirability of creating inter-faith amity. By and large the Moslems viewed the new organization as a platform for airing Hindu national aspirations. Some liberal Moslems of the south, however, joined the Congress. Mr. Rahmatūllāh M. Sayanī, presiding over the Calcutta Congress of 1894, discussed the whole question of Moslems joining the Congress. In a passionate appeal to the Moslems he emphasized that "it will be a happy day for India when the *Musalmans* as a body make it a point to educate their children and actively cooperate in all the public

movements in the country generally, and especially our good Congresses, the germ of our future federated parliament."[122]

Men like Mr. Rahmatūllāh M. Sayanī and the Honorable Mr. Badr-ud-Din Tyabji, who are conspicuous in the early Congresses as the solitary examples of Moslem collaboration with the All-India Congress, failed to persuade their co-religionists. This was partly because these men, although cultured and highly educated by western standards, were not considered leaders by the Moslems. They rather looked up to the *'ulamā'* of Doeband and other leaders in the northwest of the sub-continent like Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan who led the movement against Moslem participation in the Congress. This phase in the history of Moslem nationalism will be analyzed in the following chapter.

Along about 1889 the leading *'ulamā'* of the sub-continent posed the following questions to Mawlana Rashīd Ahmad of Gangoh, head of the Deoband School:

"Is it permissible to join with the Hindus in worldly affairs?

"Is it permissible to join the All-India National Congress? It is said to have been established on the principle of refraining from discussing those matters which are inimical to the interests of any nation or any religion and would deal only with matters of common interest.

"Saiyad Ahmad Khan Nacherī [naturist] issued a circular letter on August 8, 1888, inviting Moslems to join his *Anjaman-i-Islamia.* He has advised them not to join the All-India National Congress. In his support Islamic associations have sprung up in different cities. Could the Moslems in consonance with the principles of the *Sharī'a* join such associations? And are not the *nacheri* Moslems [those who followed Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan] less than the well-wishers of Islam?[123]

Mawlana Rashīd Ahmad of Gangoh issued the following decree dealing with these questions:

"Hindu-Moslem dealings in trade, if they do not involve the acceptance of usury, transaction of illicit business or any other matter contrary to the *Sharī'a,* is allowable. Saiyad Ahmad may or may not be the real well-wisher of Islam, but an association with him, in the long run, would be poisonous to the [life of] Moslems and Islam. He administers sweet poison *(mītha zahr)* that is fatal. Therefore do not join him. You may join with the Hindus.

"If, however, an association with the Hindus would lead to the commission of an act contrary to the *Sharī'a,* or if it might cause degredation or humiliation of the Moslems, or if it might even assist the progress of the Hindus then it is expressly forbidden (*har'ām hai*)."[124]

The *'ulamā'* and their followers did not join the All-India National Congress though the decree did not expressly forbid it. This proclamation increased the cleavage between the western-oriented thinking of men like Saiyad Ahmad Khan and the traditional classical school of Islamic thought which looked nostalgically back to the glorious days of the Moslem nation. The Deoband School adopted an ostrich-like attitude towards the impact of western culture on the Moslem mind. They wanted the Moslems to shun western education, to shut their minds tight against alien ideas, and thus save their faith and culture.

The *'ulamā'* of Deoband were effective in combating the Christian missionaries. Their action was defensive; they made no positive effort. Mawlana Muhammad Qasim, Saiyad Ali Hassan of Agra, and Mawlavi Mansūr Ali of Delhi led the defense against the missionaries. The latter was a specialist on religious controversy. He knew the New Testament by heart and had trained several of his students to debate with western missionaries. Another scholar who won renown in these debates was Mawlana Rahmat Ūllāh of Kerana who defeated Dr. C. G. Pfander,[128] a famous Christian missionary, in an open debate. But the Deoband *ulamā'* did not care to start any broadly based movement of cultural reform among the Moslems which might have satisfactorily resolved the growing conflict with western-oriented ideologies. Not without reason had Shah Walīullāh emphasized the need of *ijtihād* in each age to harmonize ideological conflicts with the realities of life. It was precisely at this point that the Deoband *'ulamā'*, professedly the followers of Shah Walīullāh, forgot their mentor and thus failed to provide leadership. Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan, in contrast, felt the need of re-evaluating the ideas of Islam in the light of Shah Walīullāh's principles and of helping to resolve the intellectual crisis that the introduction of western ideas had created.

Chapter VII

CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Consequences of 1857 Independence Wars. In 1857 the great revolt against the British broke out in India. Both Moslems and Hindus participated in the uprising. There has been a tendency among modern writers and nationalists of both India and Pakistan to describe the wars of 1857 as nationalistically inspired. In this regard a few pertinent questions may be raised: What kind of nationalism was it? Was it a joint Hindu-Moslem nation that fought for freedom or was it a struggle of Moslems and Hindus each fighting for reasons of their own but triggered off simultaneously?

A great deal has been written by British writers who participated in the 1857 wars. It is unfortunate that the British authorities in India banned any scholarly investigation by Indians on the causes of the 1857 wars. The latest works on the subject published in India and Pakistan suffer from nationalistic bias and often give the impression of having been written in haste. Moreover, they rely on English sources which leave much to be desired. Whether or not the British treatment of the subject is objective is irrevelant from our viewpoint.

The most important fact is that the British government formulated its post-1857 nationality policy on the basis of these conclusions. The Moslem centers of revolt were mainly in Delhi and Oudh where Moslem kings still maintained shadowy control. All other predominently Moslem areas—i.e., Sindh (1844), Punjab (1849) and the Northwestern Frontier Province—had already formally passed into British hands. No effective revolt could possibly have been organized in these areas; by and large they remained passive.

In Delhi the condition of the Moghul sovereign Muhammad Bahadur Shah Zafar was pitiful. He was 80 years old in 1857 and had little physical strength. Nevertheless he was highly respected by the inhabitants of Delhi. His very foibles were part of his attraction for the masses. He was a poet of considerable eminence, not interested in warlike pursuits and utterly without guile. When poetical contests were held in the city of Delhi the emperor himself used to take part in them.[1] He prided himself more on being a poet than on being a king.[2]

The royal princes quarrelled among themselves while the old emperor sank into senility. The favorite outdoor sport among the nobles within the imperial fort was cock-fighting, an indication of their decadence. Immense sums of money would be won or lost in gambling upon the issue of a single cock fight. Nevertheless, through every vicissitude of fortune, whether under Maratha rule or under the English, the populace of Delhi clung with loyalty to the Moghul emperors. Their affection for Bahadur Shah Zafar did not waver however much they might have deplored the weakness and corruption of his administration. When he sent Raja Rammohan Roy to England as his plenipotentiary to plead for an increment of his meagre pension, the Raja was not officially recognized as sanctioned by the local government. This greatly increased the people's affection for the emperor, and this feeling was intensified when, shortly afterwards, he refused to accept a higher pension in lieu of the revenues from certain districts, to which he claimed a right.[8]

Elements of revolt were always smoldering in Delhi under the acquiescence to British rule. The humiliation of being subject to foreigners was keenly felt. Moslem sentiment was further infuriated by the insolence of the acting British resident of Delhi who used to insult and manhandle pedestrians in the streets when they neglected to salute him. He was removed by Lord William Bentinck on the remonstrance of the emperor. Mr. Frazer, who next occupied the office, was assassinated in March 1835 by a man hired by Nawab Shams-ud-Din, the son of the late Nawab of Ferozpur. The nawab bore the resident a grudge for keeping him out of a certain district to which he had been adjudged entitled by the supreme government. Both the murderer and the abettor were tried, convicted and hanged. The hanging of Nawab Shams-ud-Din was bitterly resented by the Moslems. All these incidents—the grievances of the emperor at Delhi, "the mad brutality of the British acting resident," and the execution of the nawab—were fresh in the minds of the people of Delhi in 1857.

The situation of Oudh and other Hindu and Moslem states of India changed radically when Lord Dalhousie arrived in January, 1848 as Governor-General. The first period of British relations with the states has been described as that of the "ring fence," which lasted until the Hasting's Settlement of 1813-18. The states were treated as sovereign; generally there was no internal interference. The second period was that of "subordinate isolation" lasting until Dalhousie's time. The

third period was that of "subordinate union," which was the result of Dalhousie's measures.[4]

Without wasting any time Dalhousie launched the policy of annexation of which the famous doctrine of lapse was an important part. Dalhousie insisted on the right of recognizing the succession to the *gadi* or throne of each subordinate state. Hindu law provided for adoption when a natural heir was lacking. Dalhousie claimed that princely adoptions could only be valid if ratified by the supreme government. If ratification was withheld the state would pass by "lapse" to the paramount power.

Dalhousie's operation of the doctrine of lapse was sufficiently extensive to create misgivings among all Hindu states and affected even the Moslem princes. The Hindu states which suffered in the process were Satara in 1848, Jaitpur and Sambalpur in 1849, Baghat in 1859, Jhansi in 1853 and Nagpur in 1854. Satara rule had been affirmed by Lord Hastings in 1818 for the benefit of Shivaji's direct descendants. This satisfied Maratha memory of bygone glory and Shivaji's struggle against Emperor Aurangzeb. Its annexation by Dalhousie wounded Maratha pride very badly. In Jhansi Dalhousie refused to recognize the raja's adoption of an heir. This infuriated his queen, the famous Rani of Jhansi, who later achieved renown for her gallantry against the British forces in the 1857 rebellion. Nagpur was one of the three large surviving Maratha states; it had a population of four million. The annexation of Nagpur irritated Maratha sentiment and injured the interests of a large Hindu governing class. When the revolt against the British started in 1857 these Hindu states spearheaded the struggle for independence.[5]

A second pretext used by Dalhousie was misgovernment which he regarded as justification for annexation of states. Since he was the sole judge of what constituted misgovernment, he had perfect freedom to annex any state at will. The Moslem state of Oudh fell victim to the charge of misgovernment. A third pretext was the abolition of titular sovereignties which Dalhousie regarded as obsolete. Two Hindu and two Moslem kings were deprived of their titles and pensions. The titular Rajaship of Tanjore was abolished in 1855 when the last raja died without male heirs. On the death of Peshwa Baji Rao on January 28, 1851, his pension was denied to his adopted son the famous Nana Sahib[6] who later was to figure so prominently in the 1857 wars.

The title of Nawab of the Carnatic state was abolished on the ground that it was a personal and not a hereditary one. Finally Dalhousie wanted to abolish the imperial title at Delhi but London overruled

him in this. However, he made the recognition of the heir of the aged Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar dependent on his agreement to forgo the imperial title and withdraw his family from the imperial palace. When heirs were lacking, Dalhousie abolished titles; when they were plentiful he abolished them by playing family rivals against each other. Against this explosive political background two more factors must be considered: the religious influences to which the Hindus and Moslems were exposed and the socio-political factors that influenced both Moslem and Hindu soldiers in the British-Indian army.

Moslems had been greatly influenced by the nationalism of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd and his followers. After the British overthrow of the Sikh kingdom in the Punjab Shahīd's followers faced the British. His successors, particularly 'Inayāt Ali and Wilayat Ali, continued his work. In 1847 they were expelled from the Punjab and ordered to stay in Patna. In 1850, however, they were found "preaching sedition in the Rajashahi district of Lower Bengal [East Pakistan] and were twice turned out of the District." The next year they were found "disseminating treason on the Punjab frontier." And in 1852 the magistrate of Patna reported: "The rebel sect is on the increase in the city; sedition is openly preached by the principal inhabitants of this capital of a British province. The police have leagued themselves with the fanatics, and one of their leaders, Maulvi Ahmad Ullah, assembled 700 men in his house, and declared his resolve to resist any further investigation of the Magistrate by force of arms."[7]

This strain of propaganda was nationalistic and exhorted the Moslems to rise against the British as a matter of religious and political obligation. In 1765, when the Dīwāni of Bengal passed into the hands of the East India Company the Moslems came under the influence of another type of propaganda, which was at once anti-Hindu and anti-British. The first person who stirred the Bengali Moslems' dormant spirit was Hajji Shari'āt Ūllāh, who lived in a village in the Farridpur district. He had returned from Mecca in 1820 after about twenty years of absence. He was a good Arabic scholar and seems to have been influenced by the equalitarian doctrines of 'Abdūl Wahāb, the founder of the Wahhābī movement in Arabia. Hajji Shari'āt Ūllāh started his reform movement in the heart of Bengal. He ordered that the titles of *ustād* (teacher), and *shāgird* (student), terms which did not suggest submission, should be used in the future in the place of *pīr* (master) and *murīd* (disciple), which had traditionally been the respective designations of teacher and pupil. He also prohibited the

laying on of hands, which was customary at the initiation of a disciple. He required from all, *tawbā* (penitence) for past sins. His reformation bound the Moslem peasantry together, whereas its levelling aspect alarmed the *zamīndārs* (landlords).[8]

A very different person was Hajji Shari'āt Ūllāh's son, Muhammad Muhsin, better known as Dūdhū Miyān. He was a man of ordinary abilities, but exerted an influence far surpassing that of his father. His name became a household word throughout the districts of Farridpur, Pubna, Baqirgang, Dacca and Noakhally. Dūdhū Miyān was born in 1819 and visited Mecca while still young. On his return he devoted himself to spreading his own and his father's doctrines. The most remarkable advance made during Dūdhū Miyan's life was the organization of a Moslem Society. He partitioned Eastern Bengal into circles and appointed an agent in each. The duties of the agent were to hold the sect together, to make proselytes and to collect contributions.

Dūdhū Miyān preached equality among Moslems, declaring the welfare of the lowest and poorest as important as that of the highest and richest. When a brother fell into distress, it was the duty of his comrades to assist him. Nothing was criminal or unjustifiable which had this object in view. Dūdhū Miyān and his followers were dreaded by the English, Hindu and Moslem landlords. He made his most determined stand against the levying of illegal taxes by landlords. That a Moslem peasant should be obliged to contribute towards the decoration of the image of Dūrgā (one of the Hindu goddesses) or towards the support of any Hindu rite, was an intolerable act of oppression in his eyes. Dūdhū Miyān also proclaimed that the earth belonged to God and that no one had a right to inherit any part of it or to levy taxes upon it. The Moslem peasantry was therefore persuaded to settle on Khas Mahal land, managed directly by the government, thus escaping all taxes except the land revenue claimed by the state.

Every Moslem stranger was fed at Bahadurpur where Dūdhū Miyān resided, while Eastern Bengal was overrun with his agents. He settled disputes, administered justice and punished any Hindu, Moslem or European landlord who dared to bring a suit for recovery of debt to court, instead of referring the case to his decision.[9] His policy was to create a state within the state, thus liberating the Moslems from the obnoxious laws of the English. He died at Bahadurpur on September 24, 1860.

Lord Dalhousie's policy of the annexation of princely states dealt

a mortal blow to the interests of the ruling classes, thus creating another reservoir of discontent. By and large Moslem royalty had decayed. It could neither lead nor be inspired by the masses. Its prestige, however, had a magnetic appeal for the Moslems. The Moslem leadership which emerged from the middle classes during the 1857 revolt rallied around the standard of the nobility. The rebels appealed to the Moslems in the name of the Emperor of Delhi, King of Oudh, and in the name of political freedom. The outstanding Moslem leaders were Mawlavi Ahmad Ūllāh of Faizabad in Oudh and Bakht Khan in Delhi. Hindu leaders during the revolt, such as the famous Rani of Jhansi, Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi were drawn from the princely classes. They fought for their crowns and sceptres. Their grievances rallied the Hindu masses behind them. They saw political freedom in the restoration of the princely states.

Mawlavi Ahmad Ūllāh of Faizabad was a remarkable man. He was "a man of great abilities, of undaunted courage, of stern determination and by far the best soldier among the rebels."[10] Before the revolt of 1857 he travelled through India to activate the people. In April, 1857, he circulated what a contemporary British writer, Colonel G. B. Malleson, describes as "seditious papers throughout Oudh." He was arrested, tried and condemned to death. Before the sentence could be executed, Oudh broke out in revolt. He then became the confidential friend and adviser of the Begum of Lucknow in Oudh, the beloved figurehead of the freedom fighters. Concerning him Colonel Malleson wrote: "If a patriot is a man who plots and fights for the independence, wrongfully destroyed, of his native country, then certainly the Maulvi [Ahmad Ūllāh of Faizabad] was a true patriot. He had not stained his sword by assassination, he had connived at no murders; he had fought manfully, honourably and stubbornly in the field against the strangers who had seized his country and his memory is entitled to the respect of the brave and the true-hearted of all nations."[11]

Bakht Khan was the commander-in-chief of the freedom fighters in Delhi. He was actually a *sūbadār* (non-commisioned officer) of the artillery in the British-Indian army, and he proved to be a man of excellent leadership. He did not give up his struggle against the British even at the fall of Delhi in September 1857. He wanted Bahadur Shah Zafar to accompany him because he thought that "under the shadow of his name and presence, it would still be possible to continue the war, always with a chance of success."[12]

Discontent was also generated by British policy regarding Hindu

and Moslem soldiers in the British-Indian army. The army consisted of three hundred thousand men, a small part of this number being British soldiers.[13] The fidelity of the native soldiers was an established article of the British faith. However, the British soon realized that the army could no longer be trusted as the nationalistic spirit awakened in both the Hindus and the Moslems. The pride of the native troops had been inflated by a long series of military successes, but these victories also created a feeling of shame and a realization that the natives themselves had helped promote alien rule.

After the Mysore and Maratha wars the English began to reform the native soldiers. They were to be drilled, dressed and shaved after a new English fashion. They were to be polished up into English soldiers, losing in the process their distinctive Hindu or Moslem characteristics. Moreover, the English gradually took into their own hands the reins of civil and military office and left only the drudgery to the native soldiers. It is therefore not difficult to understand why the native soldiers identified the rise of British power with their own degradation.

Some zealous English officers considered it their religious obligation to convert the native soldiers. We have the testimony of Colonel Wheeler of the 34th Bengal Native Infantry,[14] who prided himself in being a Christian missionary. When questioned on this subject by the governor and council, he answered with perfect frankness: "During the last twenty years I have been in the habit of speaking to natives of all classes, sepoys [soldiers] and others, making no distinction, since there is no respect of persons with God, on the subject of our religion, in the highways, cities, bazaars and villages. I have done this from a conviction that every converted Christian is expected or rather commanded by the Scriptures to make known the glad tidings of Salvation to his lost fellow creatures."[15]

Some contemporary English writers have remarked that even the installation of railways and electric telegraphs was construed by the native mind as another blow at their religions.[16] Actually, the English missionaries, in their evangelical zeal, presented material progress and success of the English as an argument in favor of the adoption of the Christian faith. "The time appears to have come," the missionaries said in a pamphlet widely circulated among the native population during the closing years of Lord Dalhousie's administration, "when earnest consideration should be given to the question of whether or not all men should embrace the same system of religion. Railways, steam-vessels, and the electric telegraph are rapidly uniting all the nations

of the earth. The more they are brought together, the more certain does the conclusion become that all have the same wants, the same anxieties, and the same sorrows."[17]

The Christian missionaries considered Islam the greatest obstacle to the spread of Christianity. They dismissed Hinduism as unadulterated paganism, focusing their plan of large-scale conversion on the Moslem government employees. In 1837 there was a famine in India. A great many people died of hunger and pestilence and their orphans were taken over by the government. They were brought up in orphanages by English missionaries in the Christian faith. This was construed as indication of the government's wish to convert the entire population.[18] In 1850 Act XXI, designed to encourage conversion to Christianity, was passed in the legislative council in Calcutta. It provided that a person who was converted to Islam could not inherit the property of his parents. If, however, he embraced the Christian faith he would not be subject to this penalty.[19]

The political and religious animosities created by the British measures remained latent, needing but the slightest provocation. The conflagration of 1857 was touched off by two particular events. In 1856 the General Service Enlistment Act required every recruit to serve wherever needed, instead of only in India as previously. This touched Hindu caste aversion to travelling overseas. Also the cartridges for the new Enfield rifle were said to have been smeared with the fat of cows and pigs, thus outraging the feelings of both Hindus, to whom the cow was sacred and Moslems, to whom the pig was unclean.[20]

In the beginning of 1857 military unrest was clearly increasing. The actual outbreak occurred on May 10 at Meerut. Some troops refused the cartridges and were placed in irons. Their comrades released them during service time on a Sunday evening. They shot the English officers and made off for Delhi, where there were no European troops. The native garrison joined in the uprising, the city was brought under control, and by nightfall the aged Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar had become their reluctant and bewildered leader.[21]

The freedom fighters sent letters from Delhi to all military bases inviting them to join the war of independence. "It is necessary for you," said one of the letters, "to come here, for large rewards and high ranks will be conferred by the king of kings, the centre of prosperity, the King of Delhi. We are looking out most anxiously for you, like fasters watching for the call of *Muezzin.*"[22]

More important, however, was the proclamation issued at about

the same period: "To all Hindoos and *Mussalmans,* Citizens and Servants of Hindostan, the officers of the Army, etc. . . . It is well known that in these days all the English have entertained these evil designs—first to destroy the religion of the whole Hindostan army, and then to make the people by compulsion, Christian. Therefore, we, solely on account of our religion, have combined with the people, and have not spared alive one infidel and have re-established the Delhi dynasty on these terms. It is further necessary that all Hindoos and Mussalmans unite in this struggle, and, following the instructions of some respectable people, keep themselves secure, so that good order may be maintained, the poorer classes kept contented and they themselves be exalted to rank and dignity."[23]

The leaders of the movement had planned that uprisings should take place simultaneously at Meerut, Lahore and other cities of the Punjab. The rebel troops were then to fall back on Delhi and make it their headquarters.[24] However the premature outbreak spelled the doom of the struggle. An immense military force was maintained by the British in the Punjab. If this force had revolted in conjunction with the troops at Delhi and Meerut, more than half of India would have been freed at once. But when news of the restoration of the Moghul sovereign reached Lahore, Sir John Lawrence promptly disarmed the disaffected native regiments. Without weapons or chiefs the soldiers left the military base at Mian Mīr (Lahore) and dispersed in various directions. General Reed, the Commander of Peshawar, was informed by Sir Henry Lawrence on May 13 of the disarmament of the native troops at Lahore. Here also no time was lost. The commander resolved to concentrate on reliable troops at Jhelum and disbanded all the disaffected native regiments.[25]

The British government thus effectively isolated the Moslem areas of revolt in Delhi and Lucknow and the Hindu areas of revolt in Jhansi, Cawnpore and Maharashtra. The Sikhs in the Punjab remained quiet and the English enlisted their help to crush the newly rising Moslem power in India. The Sikhs had nothing to gain from a revival of Moslem power at Delhi. For them the memory of Aurangzeb and his immediate successors was even more bitter than that of Dalhousie.[26] The Sikhs rajas of Patiala, Jindh and Nabha[27] rushed to the aid of the British and sent their troops to reinforce the British seige of Delhi in June 1857. Delhi fell after a few months of resistance. From that moment the supression of the revolt was only a matter of time. By the end of 1859 India was back under British rule.

An attempt can now be made to answer the three questions raised

at the beginning of this chapter. Although the Hindus and Moslems cooperated with each other, they fought on different fronts and independently of each other. Their aims too were different. The wars of 1857 were undoubtedly fought for political liberation, but there were no common nationalistic goals to forge a joint Hindu-Moslem nation in India. Two distinct nationalisms fighting for their separate aims, were in simultaneous conflict with the British.

The English blamed the Moslems for the revolt. Discussing the impact of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd and his followers' anti-Hindu, anti-British and anti-Sikh nationalism, John Malcolm Ludlow said, "of late years there has been a great revival of *Mussulman* enthusiasm in India and that is the chief sustaining power of the present [1857] insurrection."[28] Sir Colin Campbell remarked in 1857 that "the revolt is Mahometan and not Hindoo; and therefore has little to do with Hindoo fanaticism. The fact may prove to be that the discontent of the Hindoo furnished fuel, while the restlessness and ambition of the Mahometan supplied the fire."[29] In the following year Sir James Outram, the Resident of Oudh, reported that "the rebellion was set on foot by the Mahomedans . . . it has been ascertained that prior to that *Mussulman* fanatics traversed the land, reminding the faithful that it had been foretold in prophecy that a foreign nation would rule in India a hundred years, after which the true believers would regain their ascendancy. When the century elapsed, the *Mussulmans* did their best to establish the truth of their prophet's declaration and induced the Hindoo Sepoys, ever, as you know, the most credulous and silly of mankind, to raise the green standard and forswear their allegiance. . . ."[30]

Post-1857 Development: Leadership of Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan. The British view of the revolt is by no means balanced. Both Hindus and Moslems fought for liberation. The one-sided view of the situation wrought havoc with Moslem political and economic interests. "After 1857," says Jawaharlal Nehru in his autobiography, "the heavy hand of the British fell more on the Moslems than on the Hindus. They considered the Moslems more aggressive and militant, possessing memories of recent rule in India and therefore more dangerous."[31]

After 1857 the Moslems emerged as a backward nation—illiterate, hopelessly ignorant and at the same time steeped in prejudice and suspicion. They trusted neither themselves nor the Hindus, nor the British, who spared no effort in crushing them. Consequently a despondency, sometimes amounting to sullen despair, took hold of

the Moslems. They felt that as a nation they had no future in India. In this mood they sat back and watched the Hindus pass them by in the race of life. In the darkest hour of the Moslems' national life a great personality arose. At the critical moment Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan came to the front of the battle and led the struggle for the national emancipation of the Moslems.

For purposes of historical clarity the last century of Moslem servitude under the British can be divided into three distinct periods: the era of loyalism (1857-1912), the era of romanticism (1912-1935) and the era of realism and constructive effort for the creation of Pakistan (1935-1947). The half century after 1857 was dominated by the towering personality of Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan and by his disciples. Their policy was based on unquestioned loyalty to the British government, simply because they had no alternative. In this regard their policy was not much different from that of the All India National Congress,[32] which maintained a loyal attitude toward the English as late as 1920.

Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan's Political Ideas. Although Saiyad Ahmad Khan praised British rule and declared his loyalty to British government, he was not so naive as to think that they had come to India for philanthropic reasons. Once he asked for a contribution for Aligarh College from an unknown English traveller. The Englishman answered very bluntly that he should ask support only from his own people. Saiyad Ahmad Khan retorted: "Indeed we must stretch out the hand to strangers on account of the bad condition of our nation. However, it should be remembered that if this institution were started without the support of the English, there would be nothing more insulting for the English than this, that in spite of the fact that they derive numerous advantages from their rule over India, they do not assist in a cause which is for the benefit of the Indian alone."[33]

Saiyad Ahmad Khan knew that the cooperation of the British government was essential for the success of his undertaking. His cooperation with the British government was therefore an act of policy.[34]

Saiyad Ahmad Khan was born on October 17, 1817 at Delhi. His family belonged to the high nobility and was close to the court at Delhi. On his father's side he was descended from the Prophet Muhammad in the 36th degree. His ancestors, oppressed during the tyranny of the Umayyads had fled to Damghan (Iran), and finally settled in Herat (Afghanistan). It was probably in the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1666) that his family came to India and

were appointed to responsible posts. Their connection with the Moghul court continued until the reign of Akbar Shah II, the father of the last Moghul sovereign, Bahadur Shah Zafar.

After the death of his father, Mīr Mūttaqī, Saiyad Ahmad Khan decided to enter the service of the East India Company, although his relatives did not approve of this choice. Mawlana Iltāf Husain Halī remarks, in regard to this step, that since "Sir Saiyad had grown up in the shadow of the [Moghul] palace, it would have been quite natural if he had disliked the rule of a conquering people. But common sense dominated his nature. . . . He recognized that it was not by accident that Moslem rule had gone, but that in fact it had lost the ability to rule . . . and that another people had to rule over India."[35] Saiyad Ahmad Khan was a sub-judge in Bijnore, when the revolt broke out in 1857. The ravages suffered by the Moslems after the fall of Delhi made a deep impression upon his mind. In utter despair he thought of emigrating to Egypt, but to leave his nation at this desperate hour appeared to him cowardly. He decided to remain in India and work for the welfare of his nation. Moslems in India were longing for a leader whom they could venerate and trust and who would restore their lost self-confidence. In Saiyad Ahmad Khan they found an honest unselfish man with high principles and a burning love for his nation.[36] They flocked to him, adopting his political, educational and religious views.

An important issue with far-reaching repercussions was Saiyad Ahmad Khan's attitude towards Hindus and the All-India National Congress. For a very long time he believed that "India was a bride, whose two beautiful eyes were Hindus and Moslems,"[37] and considered cooperation between the two an indispensable condition of happiness and progress. Gradually this attitude changed and he realized that the interests of the two nations were not always identical.

In August, 1867, Saiyad Ahmad Khan applied to the governor-general through the Aligarh branch of the British-Indian Association for the establishment of a separate institute of advanced learning where the vernacular language would be the medium of instruction. He also requested that those subjects that were taught and examined in English at Calcutta University should be taught and examined in the vernacular in the new institute. If that proved impossible, he asked for the establishment of a faculty of Urdu at Calcutta University and the opening of a new university in the northwestern districts of India, where the medium of instruction would be Urdu. He assured the government that the Scientific Society of Aligarh would undertake

large scale translations from English to Urdu. The government showed interest in establishing an Urdu university, but the Hindus insisted that the medium of instruction for Hindu students at the proposed new university should be Hindi. When Hindu opposition did not subside he gave up the idea of establishing a vernacular university in the northwestern districts.

In 1867 the Hindus started agitation to stop the use of Urdu from official courts and substitution of Hindi. The Hindus resented Urdu because it developed during the period of Moslem rule in India. Hindu *sabhas* (associations) sprang up in Benares and elsewhere in India with a central office in Allahabad to promote the adoption of Hindi as the official language. In Bihar the lieutenant-governor acceded to Hindu demands and accepted the Bihari variety of Hindi as the official language of the province. Agitation against the use of Urdu in other provinces thus gained momentum.

In 1882, when Saiyad Ahmad Khan was a member of the viceroy's legislative council, the Hindus raised a storm of opposition against the use of Urdu in the education commission. Thereupon Moslems inaugurated the *Anjaman Hamiat-i-Urdu* (Association for the Protection of the Urdu Language) in the Punjab and elsewhere. They argued that Urdu, although it developed during the period of Moslem rule, was a product of Hindu-Moslem intercourse and was widely spoken in India by Hindus and Moslems. In fact the British government had adopted Urdu in 1832 as the official language of India because of its widespread use.[38] "For the majority of Moslems," M. L. Ferrar rightly points out "the Urdu language comes second only to their religion as a bond of unity."[39] Saiyad Ahmad Khan saw the Hindu offensive against Urdu not only as an indication of a Hindu cultural revival, but as a mortal blow to the unity and solidarity of his own nation. He told one of his friends that "it was no longer possible for the two nations to be partners with each other in any common enterprise."[40]

Attitude Towards All-India National Congress. In 1861 the Indian Councils Act provided for the establishment of legislative councils in the center of India and in the provinces. Actually this was in agreement with a proposal of Saiyad Ahmad Khan in 1858. He had advocated the inclusion of native peoples in the administration because he believed that "the government could not be run for the good of the people unless the government is told by the people what would lead

to their welfare and what factors would impart stability to the society."[41]

The royal proclamation that followed declared that the doors of all kinds of service, from the lowest to the highest, would be open to the people of India. Just about this time the Hindus demanded that the examination for the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.) be held in India instead of England. The crucial questions which needed decisive answers were (a) how the Indians would be taken into the legislative councils, and; (b) who would be qualified for the I.C.S. examinations.

In a historic speech on December 28, 1887, in the second session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Lucknow, Saiyad Ahmad Khan clarified two points. One was that if the higher services were to be filled by competitive examinations in India, they would all go to the nation that had had an early start in education, i.e. the Hindus, and particularly the Hindus of Bengal. Secondly, if strict democracy were to be introduced in India Moslems would be in a minority of one to four. On the second point he said: "The second demand of the National Congress is that the people should elect a section of the Viceroy's Council. They want to copy the English House of Lords and House of Commons. The elected members are to be like members of the House of Commons. Now let us suppose, first of all, that we have universal suffrage, as in America, and that all have votes. And let us first suppose that all Mohammadan electors vote for a Mohammadan member and that all Hindu electors for a Hindu member and now count how many votes the Mohammadan member will have and how many the Hindu. It is certain that the Hindu member will have four times as many, because their population is four times as numerous. Therefore, we can prove by simple arithmetic that there will be four votes for the Hindu to every one vote for the Mohammadan. Now how can the Mohammadan guard his interests? It will be like a game of dice in which one man had four dice and the other only one."[42]

The Hindu middle class which was the main prop of the All-India National Congress, continued its agitation for more jobs and more seats in the legislative councils. At least seventy-five years ahead of the Moslems in western education, the Hindus could indulge in criticism of the government. However, Saiyad Ahmad Khan in his educational endeavors was relying on the cooperation of that government and was not going to endanger his plans by any premature actions. He feared that the "liberty" of the Hindus might lead to the "mutiny" of the Moslems.[43]

Commenting on the political unrest among the Hindus, the English Governor of Madras once said, "An eagle does not care a bit for the chirping of sparrows [i.e., Hindus], but if a falcon [i.e., Moslems] dares to oppose him, he at once breaks its neck." This was, of course, a warning to the Moslems, who not too long ago had been held responsible for the 1857 rebellion. Keeping these factors in mind, Saiyad Ahmad Khan made politics taboo for Moslems and forbade them to join the All-India Congress.

Saiyad Ahmad Khan decided to concentrate on western education for Moslems. Islam had been under the severest criticism from European missionaries who argued that it was superstition-ridden, irrational and unnatural and that the Moslems should therefore convert to Christianity. He devoted his energies to provide western scientific education for Moslems and to reinterpret Islamic lore in the light of modern civilization. We shall briefly examine his efforts in these two directions.

Educational Work. After 1857 Saiyad Ahmad Khan found that the conservative trends among the Moslems were particularly manifest in the field of education. Imperturbably year after year, century after century, the same subjects with the same text-books were taught in the *maktabs* (elementary schools) and *medrassas* (colleges). Arabic grammar, with all its subtleties, had to be learned. Complete courses of reading were given in rhetoric, logic and law along with instruction on the details of religious precepts and fundamental tenets of Islam. It was the same type of instruction which had been given in the Middle Ages. Euclid and Ptolemy were still the approved guides for geometry and astronomy; logic was based on the works of Aristotle.

The importance Saiyad Ahmad Khan attached to education and the place it occupied in his thought and actions can be gathered from the following statement: "There are people who hold the opinion that our national cause will be promoted by discussing political affairs. I do not agree with that, but regard the spread of education to be the only means for the promotion of the national cause. In these days our nation should not strive for anything other than the spread of education. When in our country, education will be sufficiently propagated, then we shall have sufficient means to arise from our backward condition."[44] At the same time he was conscious of the fact that traditional Moslem education was hopelessly out of date in this modern technical age. When the plan for the creation of a vernacular university collapsed because of Hindu opposition he changed his mind

about the medium of instruction. He no longer wanted western education in Urdu because "we must know, with regard to the language in which we impart instruction, whether there are sufficient text-books in it or not. . . . The second thing we must ask is, whether this language in itself is suitable for textbooks to be written in it. . . . And thirdly, whether the result of the study of sciences in such a language would be quickness of apprehension, sharpness of intellect, soundness of mind, high intelligence, facility of speech, power of persuasion and a character which gives evidence of education."[45] He felt that the Urdu language did not satisfy these three conditions and therefore urged the government to "abolish *in toto* the system of imparting instruction in the Indian vernacular, and that it should only continue with English schools."

Of course the difficulties mentioned by Saiyad Ahmad Khan were not insurmountable. The work of translation had already been undertaken by his followers, including Mawlavi Zaka Ūllāh, who believed that the best medium of instruction for students was their native language. He used to point "to Japan as a signal example of the success of what he called the vernacular method." He was afraid, along with many others, that the constant use of English "will go far to denationalize us [Moslems]."[46]

There were two additional factors that led Saiyad Ahmad Khan to oppose the use of Urdu as the medium of instruction. He believed that "national progress and government are two inseparable allies. When a nation loses political freedom, then her progress is dependent on the condition of her adopting the language and sciences of the ruling nation. The conquered nation must learn those sciences in which the conquering race excells."[47] For him it was an immutable law of progress that "when an alien nation of Moslems conquered India, only those people of the land [Hindus] shared prestige, power and government with Moslems, who adopted their mannerism, language and sciences."[48]

Another pertinent fact was that as late as 1875 there were only 20 Moslem university graduates as compared to 846 Hindus. Saiyad Ahmad Khan felt that if the Moslems adopted Urdu as the medium of instruction their college graduates would command no prestige and might remain without employment, leaving all the jobs to go to the Hindus.

In order to invesitgate the method of English education he accompanied his son Saiyad Mahmud to England in 1869 and stayed there for seventeen months studying English educational institutions. Dur-

ing his sojourn in England he spent some time at Cambridge where he made up his mind to found a college for Moslems in India modeled after this university. Soon after his return to India on September 4, 1870 he set up a committee called the "Committee Striving for Educational Progress of the Moslems," of which he was the elected secretary. The committee undertook to investigate the reasons for the scarcity of Moslem students in government colleges and schools. Later a second committee was established under the name "Fund Committee for the Foundation of a Moslem College" and again Saiyad Ahmad Khan became the secretary.

It was in these committees that he started his great campaign for the college. Wherever he met a friend in India he would ask him to found a sub-committee of the Fund Committee. He made tour after tour throughout the country, everywhere delivering brilliant speeches stressing the need of education for Moslems. On December 21, 1873, the Fund Committee decided to start a primary school which would be subordinate to the propsed college. In the meantime the orthodox *'ulamā'*, who were champions of the old type of education, had been voicing their opposition and threatening the aims of the committee. Thereupon the committee members proposed founding a model school which would demonstrate to the people that the desired new educational methods did not contradict the principles of Islam. On May 24, 1875 this school was opened.

At about that time the committee succeeded, after some difficulty, in obtaining a piece of ground for the buildings of the college. The most difficult part of preparing for the college was the collection of subscriptions. "The people of India in general, and particularly the Moslems were not at all accustomed to the institution of giving contributions for a national cause," says Halī, the biographer of Saiyad Ahmad Khan, "as long as there was not pressure or a hint from an official, it was very hard to collect subscriptions." Nevertheless, he took recourse to every possible means and thus raised eight hundred thousand rupees to construct the buildings. The foundation stone of the college was laid on January 8, 1877. The buildings of the college were erected on a grand scale. Saiyad Ahmad Khan felt that whereas a long time is required to make the common people aware of the benefits of instruction and education "the splendour of the buildings would have its immediate effect on the nationalistic feelings of the average Moslem."

Classes started on January 1, 1878. There were two departments: an English department in which university courses were given and

an Oriental department in which modern sciences were taught in Urdu and the old learning in Persian and Arabic. The latter department however, had a short existence. Very few students entered it as it could not promise them sufficient livelihood in the future. The first period of each day's work in Aligarh College was devoted to lectures on Islam. Attendance at these lectures was enforced by regulations as stringent as those relating to the ordinary classwork of the college. All the Moslem students were required to pray five times a day. Absence from prayers was punished by a fine. Fasting during the month of Ramaḍān was mandatory, except in exceptional circumstances.[49]

In short, Aligarh College was a place where the budding Moslem intelligentsia was inspired by ideals of Moslem nationalism; even their outward appearance underwent a radical change. They wore a special college uniform consisting of a black Turkish coat, white trousers and a fez. Saiyad Ahmad Khan felt that "whereas certain Hindu nations in India like the Marathas, Parsees and Rajputs could be distinguished from their dress, Moslems of different provinces wear different garments and the uniformity of dress that should have been their distinction mark has ceased to exist."[50] The *achkan* (the long-fitted coat) had been originally the dress of Moslems, but little by little the Hindus had adopted it too. He felt that the introduction of a distinctive Moslem costume would help to solidify national feelings among Moslems. He himself adopted Turkish dress and required it of the Moslem students in Aligarh College. He hoped to see the entire Moslem population emulating their educated sons.

Moslems from all over India and particularly from the Punjab, flocked to Aligarh College. They belonged to both sects, the Sunnis and Shi'as, and often spoke different languages, i.e. Urdu and Bengali. The nationalistic atmosphere at Aligarh College eliminated provincial differences. Dining, worshipping and living together in dormitories "made them look like blood-brothers. The sweetness of harmonious living nourished them like the milk of their mothers."[51] Regular debates were held in the College Union in order to stimulate their interest in the national problems of the Moslems. Skilled orators and leaders who later dominated the Moslem political horizon emerged from Aligarh College.

The college was soon showing results. "The following figures for 1893 are very instructive and significant: while in that year, according to the census in Bengal, for instance, the proportion of Moslem graduates should have been 45.9%, it was in fact only 3.4%; in

Madras it was 0.9% instead of 6.8%. However, in the north western provinces and Oudh, both of which were in the immediate sphere of influence of Aligarh College, the percentage of Moslem graduates was 17.6, instead of 11.2." [52] Still Saiyad Ahmad Khan was not satisfied with the achievements. To the end of his life he dreamed of developing the college into a university. However, it was not until 1920 that the British government agreed to promote the college to the rank of university.[53]

Saiyad Ahmad Khan recognized that although the college served a purpose, the problem of national education could not be solved by it alone. One college could not secure the education of sixty million Moslems. He therefore made plans for a kind of national educational institute where all the available resources could be centralized for the advancement of western education among the Moslems. This idea was embodied in his establishment of the Muhammadan Educational Conference in 1886.

At its beginning the Muhammadan Educational Conference presented a 12-point program. Four of them, pertaining to educational matters were: (1) to try to spread advanced western education among the Moslems; (2) to inquire into the state of religious instruction in English schools founded by Moslems; (3) to support the instruction of eastern learning and religious subjects, which Moslem teachers were giving everywhere on their own and to make provision for it so that it could be kept up regularly; (4) to examine the state of instruction in the vernacular schools, which was given on traditional lines and to make preparations for restoration of schools which had decayed. An investigation was also to be made to discover why Moslem youth were given inadequate Qur'anic instruction and to promote more intensive memorizing and study of the Qur'an.

For the practical execution of the proposed schemes, two courses were pursued. Annual sessions of the Muhammadan Educational Conference were held each year in a different town. At these sessions Moslem educational experts from all over the country assembled to put forth and discuss various educational questions and proposals. Secondly, educational committees were set up to serve the purposes of the Conference, such as reporting on the progress or decline of the Moslems' activities in education, commerce, trade, manufacture and agriculture. Resolutions adopted at the annual sessions of the Conference were supposed to be put into practice by the Moslem communities. The following resolutions which were adopted give an idea of some of the problems treated: (a) to ask the help of Moslem

Anjamans (local societies) for scholarships for needy students; (b) to make an appeal to the government that Moslems in government schools should have an opportunity of receiving religious instruction; (c) to urge the Allahabad University to exclude from its curriculum Cox's history, which contained chapters offensive to Moslems; (d) to oblige every Moslem to give one percent of his income for the diffusion of western knowledge amongst the Moslems of his district.[64]

Not all the aims pursued by Saiyad Ahmad Khan and his followers were realized but the impact of the Conference should not be overlooked. All over the subcontinent Moslem educational associations established colleges for the western education of Moslem youth. These included the Muhammadan Colleges of Karachi and Hyderabad (Deccan). Nowhere was Saiyad Ahmad Khan's influence wider and deeper than in the Punjab. The Moslems of the Punjab were in a particularly receptive frame of mind for his program of reformation and national advancement. They had considered the establishment of British rule in 1849 as an act of providence designed to liberate them from the Sikhs. Unlike other people in India they had not yet suffered humiliation at the hands of the British. The wars of 1857 had not engendered bitterness and hatred of everything western. Therefore, the Moslems of the Punjab welcomed Saiyad Ahmad Khan as a genuine social, political and religious reformer without resenting his pro-British policies. They readily adopted his recommendations to establish colleges for western education and they sent more students to Aligarh College than any other Indian province.[65]

Under the influence of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, *Anjaman-i-Himāyat-i-Islam*, a powerful and influential Moslem organization, sprang up in Lahore (Punjab). It not only established a men's college for western education but subsequently expanded its educational activities to include a women's college and a medical college where indigenous medical science is taught. The annual meetings of *Anjaman-i-Himāyat-i-Islam* used to attract the leading literary and political figures of the Aligarh movement. Men like Deputy Nazīr Ahmad and Khawja Iltaf Husain Halī often appeared at the annual sessions. It was at the annual session of 1899 that Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of Pakistan, made his national debut. At this session Iqbal recited his poem, *Nala'-i-Yatīm* (Orphan's Cry). It had a remarkable response, moving the audience to the depths of their souls. Many of them wept. When the meeting was over, they nearly mobbed the poet.

The incident, though apparently trivial, is not without significance

and invites speculation. The poem of Iqbal struck a note of emotional recognition, of psychological identification among the listeners. In the cry of the orphan they recognized their own hearts' cry: they too had long felt forlorn and abandoned. Thanks to the Aligarh movement their emotional needs were now being filled; they were being led to their destiny. The annual sessions of the Muhammadan Educational Conference and the *Anjaman-i-Himāyat-i-Islam* became national festivals. Moslems made pilgrimages to these sessions to re-affirm their solidarity with each other and take part in the constructive efforts of their leaders. Parents used to take their children to these national fairs "so that they may learn the views of the national leaders in their formative years."[56] Various offshoots of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference achieved the same success in revitalizing Moslem nationalism in the beginning of the twentieth century, as the nationalist movement of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd had had in the middle of the nineteenth. Their methods were different; their aim, however, was the same. Both movements succeeded in effecting a national reawakening among Moslems.

Saiyad Ahman Khan's Religious Reforms. In the field of religion Saiyad Ahmad Khan was an autodidact. Reared in the faith of his ancestors, he gradually disentangled himself from the bonds of *taqlīd* (literally, "imitation").[57] In this regard, as will be shown below, he was deeply influenced by the teaching and methodology of Shah Wallīullāh. In a limited sense he faced the same problems in re-interpreting the total value structure of the Moslems as Shah Wallīullāh had faced during the decline of Moslem rule in the post-Aurangzeb period. Saiyad Ahmad Khan was fortunate in having Shah Wallīullāh's socio-religious philosophy as a guide post. Actually, he had received his early education from a grandson of Shah Wallīullāh. Mawlana Makhsūs Ūllāh, who was the son of Shah Rafi-ud-Din and a nephew of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz, had taught him *Mishkat* (the book of *hadiths*), parts of *Muslim* (another book of *hadiths*) and the Qur'an. This was the extent of his formal schooling in Islamic lore; the rest of his learning was self-acquired.

The aim of Saiyad Ahmad Khan was to interpret Islam in such a way as to withstand the attacks of English scholars. English missionaries produced a voluminous literature designed to create doubts in the minds of the average Moslem. Among these Rev. S. Lee,[58] and Charles Forster[59] were conspicuous. Another missionary, Rev. C. G. Pfander, whose activities have already been discussed, provoked

agitation by his controversial tracts, written with a view to exposing, as he said, "the False Prophet of Islam." [60]

Another important work in this context was Muir's biography of the Prophet Muhammad, written, according to the author, at the request of Dr. Pfander, who needed such a polemic in his campaign against Islam.[61] The publication of this biography proved to be a turning point in the history of the Islam-Christianity controversy in India. Until this time, Rev. Pfander and other missionaries had based their attacks on Islam on two counts: (a) the teachings of Islam contradict the earlier revealed messages of the prophets, and (b) the books of the traditions are not revealed, therefore, the accounts of the miracles which the Prophet Muhammad described in these books are not acceptable. William Muir adopted a different line of attack. He accepted the entire literature of traditions *(hadiths)* as a true account of the life and messages of the Prophet. On the basis of this he attacked the fundamental principles of Islam as incompatible with modern ideals "The sword of Mahomet, and the Coron," asserted Muir, "are the most fatal enemies of civilization, liberty and truth which the world has yet known." [62]

William Muir carried his offensive still further contending that "the faith was meant for Arabia, and not for the world; for the Arabs of the seventh century, not for the Arabs of all time; and being such, and nothing more, its claim of divine origin renders change or development impossible." On these premises Muir asserted that "Islam has within itself neither the germ of natural growth nor the lively spring of adaptation." He alleged further that "the present decline of the Moslems throughout the world was mainly due to Islam." [63]

This kind of attack being novel, the Moslem theologians needed new arguments to refute it. Rising to the occasion, Saiyad Ahmad Khan wrote biographical essays on the Prophet Muhammad in English later published in Urdu with many additions under the title of *al-Khūtbāt-i-Ahmadiyā.* Since he was responsible for introducing Moslem youths to English education, he felt he owed them satisfactory arguments to counter the polemics of western missionaries. *Al-Khūtbāt-i-Ahmadiyā* refuted the allegations of William Muir and other missionaries like him. It is remarkable that Saiyad Ahmad Khan did not approach the religious controversy with bitter partisanship. His approach was conciliatory, designed to help both Moslems and Christians to a better understanding of each others' religions.

To this end he wrote a Bible commentary, a feat which had not yet been attempted by any other Moslem. In the first volume his

tolerant and constructive views soon became apparent from the position he took with regard to the *tahrif*.[64] Like Shah Walīullāh, he chose the side of the least militant group of Moslem theologians and refused to believe that the Jews and Christians corrupted the scriptures intentionally or unintentionally. He attempted as much as he could, to bring the Christian interpretation of the Bible into agreement with Moslem opinion.[65] In this constructive spirit of scholarly examination, he indicated what he thought were the real reasons for the decline of Moslem society; Islam was not among them. Prime reason was the outmoded socio-legal code. According to him the Moslems had not yet realized that the present age demanded a totally new legal system to deal with social, political and administrative affairs. He thought that the compilation of the traditional jurists led to the following evil consequences: the people were led to believe that the religion of Islam is directly related to all worldly matters and that, therefore, nothing can be done without obtaining religious sanction. If the laws and regulations which the jurists had formulated in earlier times were accepted as mere private judgments of certain learned personages, they could do no harm, but unfortunately they came to be identified with Islam itself. Therefore, any attempt to modify or replace them by better laws came to be looked upon as heresy. Moreover, the books of the jurists were regarded as containing infallible truth and thus sufficient for the guidance of Moslems' affairs. Civil, criminal, trade and revenue codes were thought unnecessary and redundant.

On the basis of this criticism, he believed that it was the most important duty of modern Moslems to formulate a new legal and social code which might be suitable for their present needs. Reason and nature became the touchstones with which to assess the value of various religions. Reason remained for him the only base upon which knowledge, certainty and faith could be founded. At the same time he admitted that there are "realities hidden from mental perception, beyond the reach of man . . . like the nature and attributes of God, the way in which the world came into being, the essence of spirit and soul."[66]

In short, Saiyad Ahmad Khan's aim was to interpret Islam as a natural religion. The paramount question in his reform of the Islamic faith is: can this or that be brought into line with Nature and its laws? Similarly, he reviews the old commentaries on the Qur'an and voices the opinion that the majority of them contain nothing more than false tales and fabricated miraculous happenings which no rational person could accept. However he admits that there are certain

exceptions, among which he includes the works of Shah Wallīullāh who made an effort to interpret Islam according to the rational principles of his day.[67] In this vein Saiyad Ahmad Khan attempted a commentary on the Qur'an, which gave rise to a great controversy among Moslems.

Saiyad Ahmad Khan's *Tafsīr* (commentary) is, in fact, a collection of essays and not a word by word commentary. He discusses only on a limited number of verses, relating them to the questions which he considered most important for his times. The bulk of the *Tafsīr* deals with the interpretation of everything involving supernatural phenomena (*Kharīg al-'Adāh*) which he tried to explain in terms of natural causation. This is why he was called a *Necharī* (naturist) by his opponents. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the influence of this *Tafsīr* has been great,[68] although towards the close of his life he developed a tendency toward extremism which occasionally impaired the value of his judgments.

The Birth of the All-India Moslem League: Separate Electorates. In 1861 the British government took the first step toward reforming the structure of the government in India. The mode of legislation was modified in both the center and the provinces. The Governor-General of India and the governors of the presidencies were authorized to nominate both Hindus and Moslems to serve on the legislative councils and thus to take part in the framing of the law of the country. Lord Lytton, who was Saiyad Ahmad Khan's guest at Aligarh in 1877 was much impressed with his personality and appointed him a member of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1878. This was a happy period in the life of Saiyad Ahmad Khan. He realized that the British government had accepted his recommendation of associating the native peoples with the government. In 1881 he was reappointed by Lord Ripon and sat in the council for five years.

In the legislative council, Saiyad Ahmad Khan again faced the question of elections to the legislatures. At that time the British government was contemplating giving another small dose of local self-government to the peoples of India. On January 12, 1883, in the course of the debate on the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Bill, he objected to the introduction of the principle of a joint electorate, in which Hindus and Moslems would choose their representatives without consideration of cultural affiliation. Instead, Saiyad Ahmad Khan favored "national elections," or separate electorates, according to which Moslems would elect Moslems and Hindus would

elect Hindu representatives. Explaining his opposition to the principle of a joint electorate, he said:

"The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population. In countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my lord, in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the Local Boards and District Councils, would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations. So long as differences of race and creed and the distinctions of caste form an important element in the socio-political life of India and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with the administration and welfare of the country at large, the system of election, pure and simple, cannot be adopted. The larger nation would totally over-ride the interests of the smaller nation and the ignorant people would hold the [British] Government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever."[69]

Saiyad Ahmad Khan's separatist policy was intensified during the later years of his life. This was, in no small measure, influenced by aggressive Hindu nationalism in the Indian National Congress, personified by Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), a Chitpavan Brahman of the Deccan. From 1893 to 1905 Tilak devoted his energies reminding the Hindus of Maharashtra of the legacy of their past struggle against the alien Moslem rulers of India and the British who had replaced them. Serious riots between Hindus and Moslems had broken out in Bombay and Poona in 1893 and 1894 in which 75 people were killed and 300 wounded. Tilak accused the British government of having instigated the Moslem attacks on the Hindus. On August 15, 1893 he wrote that "the Moslems have assumed a boorish and arrogant attitude which is the result of the encouragement they receive from the government."[70] Therefore, he argued, it was the clear duty of the Hindus to organize themselves for the protection of their rights.

Immediately after the riots Tilak started the "anti-cow killing society," which was intended and regarded as a direct provocation of the Moslems, who do not think it sacrilegious to eat beef. Tilak's propaganda also became steadily anti-British. The British government

in the heyday of its power, did not tolerate political agitation, but generally observed a hands-off policy in regard to religion. This provided a loophole which he exploited to the full. In 1893 he advised his countrymen to reorganize the festival of Ganesh, the Elephant God,[71] which included theatrical performances and religious songs based on the legends of Hindu mythology. They were skillfully exploited to stir up hatred of *melaccha*, a term applied equally to the English and the Moslems. The festivals usually lasted for ten days. An American student of anthropology, Victor Barnouw, remarks that "first of all, he [Tilak] thought that a public ten-day festival would provide a good occasion for lectures and anti-British propaganda. Second, Tilak hoped that a pubic Ganpati festival would bring the Hindu community together vis-à-vis the Moslems and provide a sense of Hindu solidarity."[72]

In 1896 there were more than 50 centers celebrating the Ganesh festival in Poona itself. The movement had become a tremendous success.

These revivalistic activities had yet to be given a form which would appeal directly to the fighting instincts of the Marathas. It had to stimulate hatred by reviving memories of old times when the Hindus under Shivaji's leadership had stemmed the tide of Emperor Aurangzeb's conquest and created a Maratha Empire of their own. To millions of Hindus Shivaji was the ideal man and king, valiant in war and wise in council, pure, just and compassionate. Tilak decided to organize an annual festival around the personality of the hero Shivaji, as a focus for the revival of Hindu nationalism. The Shivaji festival, like its predecessor the Genesh festival, soon became an annual event. Even in Bengal, a province which was supposed to have suffered at the hands of Shivaji's successors, the Hindus responded enthusiastically. By 1906 this festival was held far beyond the country of the Marathas. It was regularly celebrated in Benares, Calcutta, Karachi and Madras thus embracing the four corners of India.

The significance of the Shivaji festivals was highlighted by a Hindu professor in these words: "Who dares to call that man a murderer [reference to Afzal Khan's murder],[73] who when only nine years old, had received Divine inspiration not to bow down before a Mahomedan Emperor. Had Shivaji committed five or fifty crimes more terrible, I would have been equally ready to prostrate myself not once but one hundred times before the image of our Lord Shivaji."

Tilak was more outspoken: "It is needles to make further researches

as to the killing of Afzal Khan. Let us even assume that Shivaji deliberately planned and executed the murder. Was the act good or evil? This question cannot be answered from the standpoint of the Penal Code or the Laws of Manu, or according to the principles of morality laid down in the systems of the West or the East. . . . Great men are above the principles of morality. Did Shivaji commit a sin in killing Afzal Khan? The answer to this question can be found in the Mahabharata itself. The Divine Krishna, teaching in the Gita, tells that we may kill even our teachers and our kinsmen, and no blame attaches if we are not actuated by selfish desires. It was in a praiseworthy object that he [Shivaji] murdered Afzal Khan for the good of others. God has conferred on the *meleccha* [Moslems] no grant of Hindustan inscribed on imperishable brass."[74]

In the emotionally charged atmosphere a controversy broke out again over the use of Urdu and its Persian script. In 1899 the influential Hindus of Benares persuaded Sir Anthony Macdonald, the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces to accept Hindi as the language of government, education, trade, law and commerce. On April 18, 1900, an official communique was issued complying with the wishes of the Hindus. It was a serious blow to Moslem economic and cultural interests. A representative meeting of the Urdu Defense Association was held in Lucknow on August 18, 1900, under the presidency of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mūlk, who had succeeded Saiyad Ahmad Khan at the Aligarh College. The government was asked to reconsider its decision.[75]

The Lieutenant Governor went out of his way to convene a special meeting of the trustees of Aligarh College and warn them that if the Honorary Secretary, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mūlk, did not disassociate himself from the Urdu Defense Association, the government would discontinue the grant-in-aid to the college. The policy of the government was one of intimidation and coercion. The Hindu press and public, welcoming the government's attitude, took an extremely hostile view towards the Moslems. As a result the Moslems finally decided that they must form a political organization to safeguard their political and cultural interests. In 1901 the "Political and Social Organizations of the Moslems" was formed at Aligarh and Moslems from all quarters rallied under its banner.

At this juncture arose the explosive issue of the partition of Bengal. The province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, with a total population of 70,800,000 was ruled by one Lieutenant Governor. Lord Curzon, the viceroy and his advisors thought that on purely administrative grounds

it was humanly impossible to govern so vast an area effectively. The partition of Bengal into two provinces was considered an efficient way of solving the administrative problem. In July 1905, the government issued a communique proclaiming the partition formula and in October the plan was put into effect. The Hindus raised a storm of protest against the partition, but "the Moslems were in favor [of it] as they were in a majority in the newly created province of East Bengal and Assam."[76] The Hindus began to organize their opposition, volunteers were recruited, papers were circulated and a vigorous propaganda campaign initiated. The All-India Congress supported the move against the partition of Bengal.[77] The Moslems were galvanized by these events and their leaders realized that the times called for actions to preserve the Moslem nation.

The British government at this time was about to give another installment of local self-government to India. On October 1, 1906, the Moslems sent a deputation,[78] headed by the late Agha Khan and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mūlk to the Viceroy, Lord Minto. They asked the government to protect the Moslems with special safeguards during the forthcoming reforms. They laid particular stress upon their demand for separate electorates and for the right of Moslems to elect their own representatives to municipal councils, rural boards and provincial and central legislatures. Lord Minto expressed his agreement with the principle of separate electorates. For the Moslems, this agreement was tantamount to the recognition of their claim to be a separate nation in India. In demanding separate electorates for themselves the Moslems followed Saiyad Ahmad Khan's policy. However, contrary to his dogma they regarded their participation in politics no longer as taboo. A representative conference of Moslems was convened in Dacca and the All-India Moslem League was formed on December 30, 1906 to safeguard their national interests.[79]

The British government kept its promises. The Moslems' claims were satisfied in the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909. Within a short while the Hindu leaders realized that in order to take advantage of the constitutional reforms, they would have to come to an agreement with the Moslems regarding the system of elections and the distribution of administrative posts. This agreement was embodied in the celebrated Lucknow Pact, ratified by the National Congress on December 29 and by the Moslem League on December 31, 1916. According to this pact, the Moslems were to be represented in the following proportions in the provincial legislatures: Punjab, 50% of the elected members; United Provinces, 30%; Bengal, 40%; Bihar,

25%; Central Provinces, 15%; Madras, 15% and Bombay, 33.3%. In the central legislature one-third of the Indian elected members were to be Moslems elected by separate Moslem electorates in the several provinces, in the same proportion, as nearly as possible, in which they were represented in the provincial legislative councils.[50]

This agreement governed the relations between the Hindu and Moslem nations. The Moslems regarded it as a settled fact; any attempt to go back on it would have raised a bitter storm of protest. The Montague-Chelmsford reforms (1919) represented another British contribution toward popular government; these reforms led ultimately to the broadly based Indian constitution of 1935. The principle of separate elections was again incorporated and never eliminated until 1947.

Before an attempt is made to explain the principle of separate electorates, it should be pointed out that whatever may have been the motives of the Congress leaders, the Moslems regarded the Lucknow Pact as an act of recognition of their national entity. Henceforward their policy was to bargain for their rights as a third party both with the British and the Hindus. Moslems in general never dreamed of merging with the "greater Indian nation." Since 1857 their leaders had striven for recognition of a separate Moslem national identity. The Lucknow Pact gave them a recognized legal status.

The Punjab Council provides a classic example of the working of the separate electorate principle. The first Council, constituted in 1921, was composed of seventy-one elected members plus twenty-three nominated officials and non-officials, of whom thirty-five were Moslems, fifteen Sikhs, and the rest Hindus and others. Mian Fazl-i-Hussain (1877-1936) was the chief minister. Since the Hindus, by virtue of their early start in western education, had almost monopolized the government services, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain tried to rectify the situation in the Punjab in accordance with the spirit of the Lucknow Pact. In 1901 the Punjab government had decided that no less than 30% of the subordinate jobs should be filled by Moslems. Fazl-i-Hussain therefore, was carrying out the policy of the government in a practical and moderate manner. The quota fixed for Moslems was 40%, for Sikhs 20% and for Hindus 40%. This was applied to most branches of the administration.[51] When the chief minister took practical measures to fill the Moslem quota, the Hindus and Sikhs raised a storm of protest saying that their interests were being ruthlessly sacrificed. In 1925 the census of government servants was compiled.

It showed that nowhere did the Moslems comprise more than 50% of the personnel in the administration.[83]

In 1919 the British government also fixed the percentages in the medical college at Lahore: 40% for the Hindus, 20% for Sikhs and 40% for Moslems. It was stipulated, however, that their academic level should be satisfactory. A similar quota system was fixed for the Government College in Lahore. As to the representation of the three nationalities in municipal bodies, it was discovered that under the existing system the Hindus had greater representation than their voting strength warranted. In order to protect the Moslems, community percentages were taken by population and by voting strength and elected seats on municipal committees distributed among the nationalities in proportion to the average of the two percentages. For example, if the Hindus constituted 20% of the population and 40% of the voting strength they could have 30% of the representation.

However the Hindus were not prepared to give up their privileged position. In 1923 the Hindu leaders in the Punjab led by Raja Narendra Nath, proposed a censure motion against the Moslem chief minister. This motion failed. Forthwith, the tactics of the Hindu leaders changed; they claimed that separate electorates were a vicious product of reactionary thinking. In the thirties the Hindus demanded that the separate electorates be abandoned for a progressive method of joint electorates.[84] Events in the Punjab indicated to the Moslems that the Hindus would use the principle of joint electorates throughout India for the purpose of maintaining their economic and political privileges.

The Lucknow Pact and the principle of separate electorates led political theorists inevitably to start thinking in terms of an independent sovereign homeland for the Moslems. However, before they could approach this question realistically, their minds were gripped for the last time by that loose, transcendental feeling of Pan-Islamism. They were to flounder in the dark sea of the Caliphate movement before they realized that their destiny was bound up with the land they lived in.

Chapter VIII

SECULAR NATIONALISM

At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the loyalist policy of the Moslems, initiated by Saiyad Ahmad Khan had run its course. In 1911 the partition of Bengal, contrary to the pledges given to the Moslems, was rescinded. The announcement took the Moslems by surprise, because they had pinned their faith on the words and promises of the British government. Among Moslems all over India anti-British feelings were aroused.

In 1913 the Moslem League at its annual session at Lucknow adopted self-rule for India as its goal. As far as political aims were concerned, no difference remained between the National Congress and the Moslem League. However, the years between 1912 and 1935 mark a transitory stage in the evolution of Moslem political thinking. During this period the Moslems toyed with the seemingly grand but actually futile ideas of Pan-Islamism.

In 1914 World War I broke out and the Turks joined Britain's enemies. The Caliph-Sultan of Turkey issued a call for *jihād* in three stages. Shaikh-ul-Islam, in the *fatwa* announced on November 7, 1914, declared it a sacred personal duty of all Moslems in the world, including those living under the rule of Britain, France and Russia to unite against those three enemies of Islam. Then followed the Sultan's proclamation to the army and the fleet on November 11. Lastly, a manifesto to the Moslem world was issued on November 23, 1914 under the signatures of Shaikh-ul-Islam and twenty other religous dignitaries. It bore the Sultan's seal and the following words: "I command that this manifesto be distributed in all the Moslem countries." It called upon the Moslems of the world, whether subjects of the Entente Powers or not, to obey the injunctions of the Holy Book as interpreted by the *fatwa,* and participate in the defence of Islam and the Holy Places.[1]

The Caliphate Movement. After 1857 the doctrine of the supremacy of the Caliph was successfully spread among the Moslems of India by the Caliph-Sultan of Turkey. The Indian Moslems were ignorant of the development of modern Arab nationalism. They regarded the

Arab revolt against the Sultan as an insurgence against the authority of Islam and an onslaught upon Islamic unity. They were dissatisfied, and the First World War afforded them an opportunity to release their pent-up feelings against the British government. Leadership for this expression was provided by two schools of thought, the Deoband School and the Romanticists. The latter were led by Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan, Hakīm Ajmal Khan, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Mawlana 'Abdūl Barri, and Mawlana Shawkat Ali. The inspiration for the Caliphate movement was given by Mawlana Muhammad Ali and Abul Kalam Azad.

The *'ulamā'* of the Deoband School, as indicated earlier, had a well thought-out plan to ally themselves with the Sultan of Turkey against the British government. They started to carry out their plan immediately after the beginning of hostilities between Turkey and Britain. Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan (1850-1920), the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of Deoband, realizing the need of uniting Moslems with diverse religious and political orientations, had founded the association *Jamia't-al-Ansār* in Deoband in 1909. Mawlana 'Obāid Ūllāh Sindhi (1872-1941) was appointed its organizing-secretary. The aim of this fraternity was to cultivate a feeling of solidarity between the students of Aligarh College and those of the Deoband School. For this purpose they encouraged an exchange of students between the two schools.[2] In retrospect it seems that the real aim of the Deoband School was to destroy the feeling of loyalty to the British government which was still inculcated in the minds of the Aligarh students. In a few year the *Jamia't-al-Ansār* turned out several devoted leaders who were to work in the Caliphate Movement.

When the agitation for aid to Turkey gained momentum it was anticipated that the British government would arrest Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan. Therefore he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca before the opportunity of establishing liaison with the Turkish government was lost. He thought that if enough pressure was brought to bear upon the governments of Iran and Afghanistan, they might decide to actively support the Caliph of Islam, the Sultan of Turkey.[3] He hoped that a tripartite attack on British-India might liberate the subcontinent. At any rate it would strengthen the strategic position of the Caliph.

Before Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan left for the pilgrimage in 1914, he sent Mawlana 'Obāid Ūllāh Sindhi to Afghanistan to establish contacts with the Afghan government of Amīr Habīb Ūllāh Khan. On his arrival at Mecca, Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan met Ghalib

Pasha, the Ottoman Governor of Mecca, and informed him of the political nature of his pilgrimage. Ghalib Pasha gave him a letter of introduction to the Governor of Medina, who arranged a meeting for him with Jemal Pasha, the Governor of Syria, and Envar Pasha, the Turkish War Minister, who happened to be in Medina on official business.[4]

The Turkish authorities wanted Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan to rally the independent Pathan tribes beyond the Durand Line around the caliphal standard. It was decided that he should go to these tribal areas by sea starting from Constantinople. Lack of proper transportation delayed him for a few months at Ta'if. At this time the situation underwent a revolutionary change. On June 10, 1916 an Arab revolt, under the leadership of Sharīf Husain, broke out in Arabia. After a brief struggle the Turkish forces surrendered to Sharīf Husain's Commander of Mecca.[5]

In order to legalize his revolt, Sharīf Husain obtained a *fatwa* from the *'ulamā'* of Mecca, which repudiated the Turkish Caliphate. When asked to sign it, Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan not only refused, but declared Sharīf Husain a rebel, whose forces had mutinied against the Caliph of Islam.[6] Sharīf Husain's response was prompt. Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan and his disciple, Husain Ahmad Madani, were arrested and handed over to the British authorities. On January 12, 1917 they were sent to Egypt and from there exiled to the island of Malta, where they remained for three years and seven months. The British government released them on April 12, 1920 and they returned to their homes.[7]

Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan and his followers were absolutely unaware of "the Hamīdan despotism" which, the Arab nationalists claim, was "mainly responsible in kindling the sentiments of nationalism in the hearts of the Arabs."[8] Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan was convinced of the mutinous character of the Arab revolts. How strongly he hated the rebels for their defiance of the caliphal authority can be gathered from the following incident which took place after his return to India. On his way to attend a reception in his honor, he found a multitude of people gathered at the Muradabad railway station to receive him. One of them, a young Moslem, was sporting Arab dress. He looked at him and said "take it off. This is a dress of traitors."[9]

In the meantime, Mawlana 'Obāid Ūllāh Sindhi, following the instructions of Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan, had entered Afghan territory on August 15, 1915 without a passport or a visa. On October 15,

he reached Kabul.[10] In the same month a political mission of the Indian National committee, located in Berlin, also arrived in Kabul.

At the outbreak of World War I, there were a sizeable number of Indians in Berlin. Most of them were students at various German universities; their feelings were rather anti-British than pro-German. Soon after the outbreak of the war a few additional Indians, more consciously revolutionary, drifted into Germany through Switzerland. They formed a political committee headed by Hardayal, who had come from the west coast of the United States. This committee became quite important because the German government was anxious to exploit all anti-British feelings. The Indians insisted on pledges for Indian independence in case of victory. The German Foreign Office gave these assurances in a regular treaty. The committee was officially honored and its "representatives were treated almost on the footing of foreign ambassadors."[11] The committee included both Hindus and Moslems.

The mission which came to Kabul was headed by Raja Mahindra Pratab and Mawlavi Barkat Ūllāh. Without much delay Mawlana 'Obāid Ūllāh Sindhi was allowed by the Afghan government to meet with the representatives of the Indian National Committee of Berlin. Very soon cleavage developed between the Hindu and Moslem representatives over the relative political importance of Moslems in India. The Raja assumed that the Hindu majority had the right to express the will of all of India, which the Moslems violently resented. Sindhi considered the inclusion of Mawlavi Barkat Ūllāh in the delegation of the Indian National Committee only a means to hoodwink the Moslems.[12]

The Afghan government was not willing to embroil itself in a war with the British and fully exploited the conflict between the Hindu and Moslem representatives of the Berlin Indian National Committee. It transmitted a verbatim record of its dealings with the representatives to the British Viceroy in Delhi and received handsome financial rewards in the form of an increment of its annual grant.

However, the Afghan government maintained a facade of cooperation with the Indians in Kabul, by letting them create a political toy, namely the Provisional Government of India in Kabul, headed by Raja Mahindra Pratab and Mawlavi Barkat Ūllāh. Later on even Mawlana 'Obāid Ūllāh Sindhi joined it. This "Provisional Government of India" accomplished nothing. An abortive attempt to send a delegation to Russia was made in October 1923, but one of the delegation members, Dr. Kushi Muhammad, alias Mirza Muhammed Ali, declared

his allegiance to Marxism on the eve of the delegation's departure,[13] thus adding to the conflict among the Moslem members.

Mawlana 'Obāid Ūllāh Sindhi, dismayed by the failure of the mission to Russia, sent a report to Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan in Arabia. Shaikh 'Abdūl Haq took this letter, which was written on a piece of silk, to Shaikh 'Abdūr Rahīm (the elder brother of Acharya Kripalani, Indian Socialist leader), who was to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. However, the letter fell into the hands of the British, who arrested Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hassan in Mecca. Meanwhile, a fairly large number of disillusioned Moslems migrated to Afghanistan. Among the more prominent emigres were Dr. Muhammad Iqbal Shāida'ī and Dr. Nūr Muhammad. The latter, who was personally known to Mahatma Gandhi, initiated the Kabul Congress Committee in 1922; Mawlana Sindhi became its president. Jawaharlal Nehru, in his autobiography, states that "I had myself been instrumental in getting the Kabul Committee affiliated" to the parent body in India.[14]

The creation of the Kabul Congress Committee was the last achievement of the Indian group in Kabul which was witnessed by Mawlana 'Obāid Ūllāh Sindhi. In November, 1922 he left Afghanistan and went to Soviet Russia as a guest of the Communist Party.[15] He stayed in Moscow for seven months, then spent the following years in Turkey and Saudi Arabia and did not return home until January, 1939.

Now we turn to the efforts of the Romanticists, the leaders of the Caliphate movement. Lloyd George, the Premier of England, had declared during the First World War that Britain would preserve Turkish rule in lands that were predominantly inhabited by people of the Turkish race. He had said: "nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race."[16] The Indian Moslems contended that *Jazīrat-ul-Arab*, including Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, with all the holy places situated therein, must always remain under the direct suzerainty of the Caliph. But the terms of the Armistice deprived Turkey of these lands. Western Thrace was given to Greece; the Asian portions of the Turkish Empire, populated by the Arabs, became mandates of Britain and France.

A Caliphal delegation headed by Dr. Ansari met the Viceroy of India on January 19, 1920 and told him that "the continued existence of the *Khilaphat* as a temporal no less than spiritual institution was the very essence of their faith."[17] The doctrine of the Caliphate "as the essence of the faith" was also enunciated by Mawlana Abul Kalam

Azad. Since Azad survived to play a very large part in the struggle for independence in 1947 and later emerged as a champion of the anti-Pakistan forces in India, a detailed analysis of this doctrine will help in understanding his political thinking.

Abul Kalam Azad's Doctrine of the Caliphate. Azad believed that the fundamental principles of Islam require international solidarity of all Moslems, that all Moslems must remain united in an organic whole, and that anyone who betrays the international solidarity of Islam is led astray by the devil.[18] Azad's next most important tenet is acknowledgment of the Caliph as the instrument through which Islamic solidarity is maintained. Therefore, obedience to the Caliph is mandatory.

In the Qur'an God ordained the Moslems to obey three powers: God, the Prophet Muhammad, and "those charged with authority" among Moslems. Azad believed that the last category was a reference to the Caliph, who was responsible for enforcing the laws of Islam.[19] "Abu Harrara" (one of the Prophet's companions), Azad says, "is said to have quoted the Prophet to the effect that whosoever obeys my *amīr* [representative] obeys me."[20] He considered obedience to the Caliph obligatory for all Moslems, because the Caliph guaranteed the stability of the unitary structure of Islam.

Azad says that the Caliph must be elected by all Moslems. Like Ibn Khaldun, he believes that no individual family or race has an exclusive claim to the office. He asserts, however, that if elections could not be held, and if a Moslem occupied the office nevertheless and consolidated his position in the realm "then it is obligatory for all Moslems that they bow the head of submission to him. Revolt will be illegal, even if it was based on superior and well reasoned claims. The rebel will legally deserve to be killed by partisans of the Caliphs."[21] In other words a *de facto* Caliph, in the eyes of Azad, enjoys all the prerogatives of a *de jure* Caliph. Or perhaps it would not be wrong to infer that a *de facto* Caliph is a *de jure* Caliph.[22]

Having established the frame of reference in which he viewed the Caliphate, Azad then turned to the Ottoman Caliphs. He believed that when Sultan Selim conquered Syria and Egypt in 1517, the last Abbasid Caliph (al-Mutawakkil in Egypt), a Caliph kept by the Mamlūk ruler, took an oath of *bai'a* at the hands of Sultan Selim, and handed him all the privileges and powers of the Caliph. In addition to this al-Mutawakkil gave Sultan Selim the keys of the Holy Places in Arabia and some belongings of the Prophet Muhammad, such as his standard,

sword and shawl. Since then the Ottoman Sultans have been Caliphs to the world of Islam.[23]

Azad realized that the Moghul sovereigns in India had claimed caliphal titles of their own. He draws a subtle line of demarcation between their claims, which were regional and circumscribed, and those of the Ottoman Sultans with their universally recognized caliphal title. He goes one step forward and asserts that the Moghul sovereigns never claimed to be Caliphs of the entire Moslem world.[24] From this line of reasoning it would follow that the Moslems of India owed a dual allegiance, one to their rulers in India and another to the Turkish Caliphs. It is therefore logical to conclude that Moslems actually had no occasion to transfer their allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey after 1857; this allegiance was only continued and emphasized by the official termination of the Moghul Empire. Taking advantage of Turkish Caliphal claims during the 1857 wars, the British government procured a decree from Sultan 'Abdūl Majīd of Turkey, in which the Sultan exhorted the Moslems of India to be loyal to the British government.[25] That the Sultans used their caliphal position in the interests of Turkish foreign policy is completely overlooked by Abul Kalam Azad. On the contrary, he argues that this decree also clearly indicated that the Turkish Caliphs enjoyed a recognized position in the Moslem world.

Azad condemns Sharīf Husain's revolt in Arabia and declares him to be a rebel who sided with the enemies of Islam. According to the *Sharī'a* it is the duty of all Moslems to expel the rebels from Hedjaz and to continue fighting until they are totally defeated. Legally Hedjaz is still a part of the Caliphate of Constantinople. "A Moslem," maintained Azad, "who dies without rendering aid and succor to the Turkish Caliph, dies an un-Islamic death. Obedience to the Caliph is obedience to the Prophet, and obedience to the Prophet is obedience to God."[26]

In Azad's eyes an Ottoman Caliph could do no wrong; the European powers were bent on destroying him because he was the protector and champion of Islam. Azad thought that no European could forgive the Turks for having besieged Vienna and that European writers and propagandists deliberately maligned the Turks for having penetrated into the heart of Europe and established Islamic rule there. He saw Sharīf Husain as a victim of this propaganda. He argued that even if all the Turkish Caliphs were worse tyrants than al-Hajjaj, the famous Governor of Iraq who sent Muhammad ibn al-Qasim to Sindh, and

Khalid Qasrī, the Moslems of India would not be freed from their obligation of obedience to them.[37]

Referring to the active hostilities between the Caliph and the British government, Azad argues that it is obligatory upon Moslems to wage a *jihād* in defense of the Caliph.

Now the question arises how the Moslems of India could wage a *jihādi* war against the British. Azad's sophistry reaches its zenith when he finds enough authority in the Qur'an to support the policies of the Indian Caliphate Committee. In order to understand Azad's theories more fully we must now relate what happened in the political domain.

In March, 1920, the Indian Caliphate Committee which had been founded a few months earlier, sent a deputation to London. It was headed by Mawlana Muhammad Ali and its purpose was to present the Moslem point of view on the Caliphate. The delegation was received by the Foreign Office and also by the Prime Minister of Britain. The British government maintained that while Turkey was to be allowed to retain ethnically Turkish lands she was to lose those provinces which were not Turkish. This position struck at the heart of the Caliphate sentiment in India.

March 19, 1920, was fixed as a day of national mourning—a day of fasting, prayer and strike. It was at this stage that Mahatma Gandhi, who had returned to India from the Union of South Africa, appeared on the scene. Discussing the nature of Hindu-Moslem relations, he remarked: "I had realized early enough in South Africa that there was no genuine friendship between the Hindus and the *Musālmāns.*" He felt nevertheless that the Moslems' cooperation was necessary in the struggle for the freedom of India. Therefore he sought "the friendship of good Musālmāns, and was eager to understand the Musālmān mind through contact with their purist and most patriotic representatives."[38]

One of the factors that plagued Hindu-Moslem relations was the slaughter of cows at Moslem festivals such as *'Id al-Adha.* Each year riots would break out costing the lives of hundreds of Hindus and Moslems. The Moslems felt obliged to perform the sacrificial slaughter of cows on *'Id al-Adha,* while the Hindus considered it their religious obligation to protect cows from the hands of the Moslems. Mahatma Gandhi was a deeply religious man and venerated the cow, as can be gathered from his article on "Mother Cow" in the *Harijan* of September 15, 1940: "Mother cow is in many ways better than the mother who gave us birth. Our mother gives us milk for a couple of years and

then expects us to serve her when we grow up. Mother cow expects nothing from us but grass and grain. . . . Our mother, when she dies, means expenses of burial or cremation. Mother cow is as useful dead as when she is alive. . . ."[29] Mahatma Gandhi indeed made the survival of Hinduism conditional upon the cult of the cow for he says, "Hinduism will live so long as there are Hindus to protect the cow."[30]

The problem of cow protection and his desire to bring about a Hindu-Moslem rapprochement made Gandhi look upon the Caliphate agitation as a "Moslem cow" that they were struggling desperately to save.[31] "I felt that if I would become a true friend of the Moslems," writes Gandhi in his autobiography, "I must render all possible help in securing the release of the Brothers [Mawlana Muhammad Ali and Mawlana Shawkat Ali] and a just settlement of the Khilāfat question."[32]

Although Gandhi never said it, it is hard to believe that he was not concerned about the extra-territorial allegiance of the Moslems as expressed in the Caliphate agitation. The program of cooperation with Moslems, as worked out by Gandhi, diverted the Caliphate movement into the channel of the Indian struggle for independence. On March 10, 1920 he issued a manifesto that made these important points: "non-cooperation with the government becomes a duty when cooperation means degradation or humiliation or injury to one's cherished religious sentiments. Moslems would not remain loyal to England if the British government encroached upon the rights of the Caliphs. Therefore, those who were holding offices of honor or emoluments ought to give them up. Those who performed menial services of the government ought to do likewise. Advice to the soldiers to refuse to serve the government was not given."[33]

In the third week of April, Gandhi issued another manifesto which contained five points. A non-cooperation movement was supposed to be launched by the Caliphate Committee and the National Congress. The five points related to the adoption of *Swedeshi*,[34] Hindu-Moslem unity with special reference to the Caliphate, the acceptance of Hindūstāni as the *lingua franca*, and a linguistic redistribution of the provinces.[35]

A conference of leaders of all parties was held on June 2, 1920. The policy of non-cooperation was decided upon. A committee composed of Gandhi and some Moslem leaders, appointed to draw up the program, recommended a boycott of schools, colleges and law courts.[36] Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad now had to face the task of convincing the Moslems that in the struggle for the Caliphate, cooperation with non-

Moslems was permissible according to the *Shari'a*. He accordingly divided non-Moslems into two categories: non-Moslems who had no desire to invade Moslem lands, but instead lived in harmony with them, and the enemies of Moslems.[37] In outlining the duties of Moslems towards both categories of non-Moslems he declared: "The first category of non-Moslems deserve the good-will and constructive cooperation of Moslems. However, if the Moslems would have friendly transactions with the second category of non-Moslems, they would be counted as the enemy of Allah and the *Shari'a*." Azad cites the following passage from the Qur'an to substantiate his view: "God forbids you not, as regards those who have not fought you in religion's cause, nor expelled you from your habitations, that you should be kindly to them, and act justly towards them; surely God loves the just. God only forbids you as to those who have fought you in religion's cause, and expelled you from your habitations, and supported in your expulsion, that you should take them for friends. And whosoever takes them for friends, they are the evildoers." (Sura LX: 8, 9)[38]

Applying the dictum of the Qur'an to the Indian situation, Azad infers that Moslems' relations with Hindus cannot be unfriendly since Hindus never invaded a Moslem land, nor killed Moslems for their faith, nor supported their expulsion from any country.[39] With this interpretation of the Qur'an, he sanctified Hindu-Moslem partnership in the non-cooperation movement. Moslems *en masse* joined the All-India National Congress for the first time since its inception and the general slogan *Hindu-Musālmān ki Jai* (long live Hindu-Moslem cooperation) was heard everywhere. Hindu divines, like Swami Shraddhanand, stood on the steps of *Jami'a Masjid* (the grand mosque) of Delhi and preached India's unity and freedom to a mighty gathering of Moslems and Hindus. Thus began a shortlived honeymoon which ended a few years later in a bitter and disillusioned separation —a separation so complete that the two nations agreed never again to collaborate with each other on any platform.

In spite of the fact that Gandhi had remarkable success in swelling the ranks of the Congress with Moslems and had taken up the cause of the Caliphate movement against the British government, the leaders of the Caliphate were, as they declared "Moslems first and everything else afterwards." At this juncture Mawlana 'Abdūl Bāri, Mawlana Muhammad Ali, Mawlana Shawkat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad[40] started to preach that the Government of India had trampled the laws of Islam under foot, that India was therefore a *Dar-ul-Harb*, and that it was the duty of Moslems to leave for other countries in which Islam

held sway. In obedience to this call many thousands of simple Moslems joined the *hijrit* (migration) movement, and took part in an exodus from India. In the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab and Sindh thousands of families sold their land and property for a pittance and departed in the direction of the Khyber Pass. It was calculated that in August, 1920 as many as 18,000 people moved in the direction of Afghanistan. Eventually the Afghan authorities on the border decided to turn the *muhajarīn* (emigrants) back. As a result the tide of emigration slowly ebbed, but the road from Peshawar to Kabul was strewn with the graves of old men, women and children who had succumbed to the hardships of the journey.

Gandhi helped Moslem leaders in encouraging Moslems to leave India and settle in Afghanistan. He went to the Moslem University at Aligargh, and exhorted the students to emigrate. "There [in Aligargh] I invited the young men," records Gandhi in his autobiography, "to be *fakirs* [those who renounce the world] for the service of the motherland."[41] The pertinent question at this point is how the civil disobedience, non-cooperation, and exodus of Moslems from India to a foreign land was going to help the Turks, the Arabs or anyone else. Even if India were to gain freedom, what good would it be to the Turks? There is no doubt that the Caliphate movement was characterized by mental confusion, reckless enthusiasm, and fantastic self-sacrifice.

A tide of riot and disorder swept over the country, culminating in a rising of the *Moplahs* (offspring of Arab merchants on the Malabar coast), in which Hindu priests, shop-keepers, landlords, and money lenders were the principal victims.[42] In early February 1922 Gandhi suspended the non-cooperation movement because of the Chauri Chaura incident, where a mob of villagers had retaliated certain police actions by burning alive several policemen. Gandhi took this decision because the rule of non-violent protest against the government had been violated. The years that followed were marked by ever-growing tension between Hindus and Moslems. Between 1922 and 1927 street fights and riots were reported from most of the principal cities. Little confidence or love remained between the two nationalities.[43]

The abolition of the institution of the Caliphate on November 1, 1922 by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey put the leaders of the movement in a ridiculous position. Moslems became almost leaderless; they drifted aimless and rudderless on the high seas of Indian politics until the thirties, when they demanded the creation of

Pakistan. It is, however, impossible to say whether or not an Iqbal, a Rahmat Ali, or a Muhammad Ali Jinnah would have risen if it had not been for the blunders of the Caliphate leaders.

Muhammed Iqbal. The man who came to dominate Moslem political thought after the Caliphate movement, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, was born in1873 at Sialkot in the Punjab of a pious middle-class family. Educated in both eastern and western cultures, he graduated in 1899 from the Government College at Lahore, where he remained for six years as lecturer in philosophy. From 1905 to 1908 he studied philosophy and law at Trinity College, Cambridge and in Germany. He obtained his doctorate from the University of Munich for a dissertation on the development of metaphysics in Persia.

While in Europe Iqbal absorbed new ideas and was influenced by several thinkers, notably Hegel, Bergson and above all Nietzche. He took from them what he needed as a member of a nation which was conscious of its own backwardness—a sense of evolution and history, of advance through effort and struggle. This was to lay the basis for the doctrine associated with his name, that of *khudi* or selfhood, the development of a dynamic personality through practical activity in the world. Within the frame of reference of Islam, this goal contrasted with the sufi ideal of passive contemplation and mystic absorption.[44]

After his return from Europe Iqbal resumed his position at the Government College in Lahore but later resigned because he had become an outspoken critic of the educational department of the government. By the time he was knighted in 1922 he was recognized as the most eminent poet and writer of Moslem India. During the next ten years he participated, though never quite whole-heartedly, in the public life of India.

In 1927 he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Three years later he was appointed President of the annual session of the All-India Moslem League at Allahabad, where he delivered an epoch-making address about the final destiny of the Moslem nation in India. In this address he described his plan for a separate Moslem state as the solution of the political deadlock between Hindus and Moslems. Iqbal was in the widest sense a political poet. He expressed his views through poetry, speaking to the mind and heart of his Moslem audience. Notwithstanding his theoretical distrust of nationalism he behaved like an ardent Moslem nationalist when facing the hard realities of political life in India. Although he clothed his socio-

political doctrines in beautiful poetry, he delivered his nationalistic testament before the annual session of the Moslem League at Allahabad in simple but majestic prose.

Iqbal declared his allegiance to the Moslem nationality, which he loved because "it is the source of my life and behavior; and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness." He rejected once and for all the notion that India is a social unity: "India is an Asia in miniature. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions."[45a] He added: "Thus it is clear that in view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds, and social systems, the creation of states based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests, is the only possible way to secure a constitutional structure in India."

In defining the areas which would be the component parts of a Moslem state, Iqbal stated: "I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh, and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state." With regard to the relations of these amalgamated provinces to the British Empire Iqbal maintained: "Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Moslem State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Moslems, at least of North-West India."[45]

Iqbal enumerated various reasons for the creation of a "consolidated North-West Indian Moslem State," but the thought of the cultural preservation of the Moslem nation was uppermost in his mind: "The life of Islam as the cultural force in the country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory." He believed firmly in the principle of one nation, one state: "We are seventy millions and far more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed the Moslems of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word."[46]

On the basis of his historic Allahabad address Iqbal is considered to be the architect of the state of Pakistan, a name coined three years later.[47] This interpretation is only partially correct. First of all, he is silent about the fate of the Moslems of East Bengal, who were in fact more numerous than the north-western Moslems. Whether this was an oversight or deliberate omission is not clear.

Secondly, in his address he referred to the continuation of separate electorates and the creation of a federal constitution to satisfy Moslem

demands. In regard to the defense of the subcontinent, he stated: "I am sure that the scheme of a neutral Indian army based on a federated India, will intensify Moslem patriotic feeling, and finally set at rest the suspicion, if any, of Indian Moslems joining Moslems from beyond the frontier in the event of an invasion. . . . Thus possessing full opportunity of development within the body politic of India, the north-western Moslems will prove the best defenders of India against foreign invasion, be that invasion one of ideas or one of bayonets."[48] These statements indicate that the north-western Moslem state that he envisioned was to be part of an Indian Confederation. He failed to answer the question of how this plan could work without creating friction between Hindus and Moslems. Perhaps he intended to be vague so that Moslem politicians would have sufficient leeway to work out details for a Moslem homeland. Nevertheless, "the seeds of Pakistan" can be found in Iqbal's address. They burst into bloom in the form of the Pakistan Resolution adopted on March 23, 1940 by the Moslem League in Lahore.

Iqbal's great service to the spirit of Pakistan lies in his poetry. His fervent idealization of Islam, not merely as a religion, but as a comprehensive political system, exercised a far-reaching influence upon the Moslem intelligentsia. With his poetry and his political and philosophical writings Iqbal succeeded in creating an intellectual climate in which the Pakistan idea could grow and come to fruition. In the last days of his life Iqbal exerted his influence to strengthen this idea among young Moslem intellectuals. Under his guidance student leaders in Lahore, including Hamīd Nizāmī, 'Abdūṣ Salam Khurshīd, Mian Muhammad Shafī, 'Abdūs Satar Niazī, 'Abdūllāh Butt, Shaikh 'Imād-ud-Din Ahmad, Shaikh Anwār-ul-Haq and several others founded the Punjab Moslem Students' Federation in September 1937. The aim of the Federation was to demand the partition of India into Moslem and Hindu states.[49] A decade later 'Abdūs Satar Niazī and particularly Hamīd Nizāmī rendered a vigorous contribution to the creation of Pakistan; the latter established the daily newspaper, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, in Lahore which soon became an avowed spokesman for Pakistani nationalism. Although in indifferent health, Iqbal also helped Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, to reorganize the Moslem League in the Punjab.

Iqbal was most concerned with strengthening the ideological framework for the proposed Moslem state: "The state, according to Islam, is only an effort to realise the spiritual in a human organization."[50] Islam in Iqbal's philosophy is not only a religion or a certain form of

worship. It is a philosophy of life—a complete code for the guidance of the individual's life from the cradle to the grave and beyond. Islam affects all aspects of human activity transforming the individual, the nation and humanity. "Islam," contended Iqbal, "is a single unanalysable reality, which is one or the other as your point of view varies. Thus the Qur'an considers it necessary to unite religion and state, ethics and politics in a single revelation." [51]

The social order of Islam is founded on the principle of *tawhīd*—unity of God. "The essence of *tawhīd* as a working idea," maintains Iqbal, "is equality, solidarity, and freedom." The state can therefore be defined as an endeavor to transform the idea of *tawhīd* into a definite human organization. However, he admitted that Islamic thought was suffering from sterility. Hailing the Kemalist revolution, he claimed that "among the Moslem nations of today Turkey alone has shaken off its dogmatic slumber, and attained selfconsciousness." [52]

The prime question was whether or not the Law of Islam was capable of evolution. Iqbal answers this question affirmatively. He sees his mission in stimulating creative activity among the Moslems and imbuing the "idle looker-on with restless impatience." He says in *Asrār-i-Khudi:*

> Arise and pour pure wine into my cup,
> Pour moonbeams into the dark night of my thought,
> That I may lead home the wanderer
> And imbue the looker-on with restless impatience;
> And advance hotly on a new quest
> And become known as the champion of a new spirit.[53]

Life must not be contemplated but lived passionately. This is the essence of Iqbal's message.

> The pith of life is contained in action,
> To delight in creation is the life of life.
> Arise and create a new world;
> Wrap thyself in flames, be an Abraham!
> To comply with this world which does not favour
>   thy purposes
> Is to fling away thy buckler on the field of battle.
> The man of strong character who is master of himself
>   will find Fortune complacent.
> If the world does not comply with his humour,
> He will try the hazard of war with Heaven;
> He will dig up the foundations of the Universe
> And cast its atoms into a new mould.[54]

This call to "impatient initiative" is the chief revolution wrought by Iqbal in the thinking of Indian Moslems. He regarded passive resignation as sinful. His greatest service was his call to action in the name of Islam and his bold insistence that a "dynamic infidel" is more righteous than a passive Moslem:

> A Kafir before his idol with wakeful heart
> Is better than a religious man asleep in the harem.[55]

His activist re-interpretation of religion is well illustrated in his treatment of the story of Adam and Eve in his poem, "Gabriel and Satan." The "fall" of man, according to his interpretation, was in reality the first rung in the ladder of man's glory.

> *Gabriel:* "Comrade of ancient days! How fares the world of sight and sound?"
> *Satan:* "In fire and rage and grief and pain and hope and longing drowned."
> *Gabriel:* "No hour goes by in Paradise but your name is spoken there; Is it not possible that the rent robe be mended that you wear?
> *Satan:* "Ah! Gabriel! You have never guessed my mystery; alas—Maddened for ever I left upon Heaven's floor my broken glass. Impossible, oh! impossible I should dwell here again; Silent, how silent all this realm—no palace, no loud lane! What should I do—all hope renounce, or hope yet in God's word?"
> *Gabriel:* "Your mutiny has put our high estate in Heaven to shame; In the Creator's eye what credit now can angels claim?"
> *Satan:* "But in Man's pinch of dust my daring spirit has breathed ambition. The warp and woof of mind and reason are woven of my sedition. The deeps of good and all you only see from land's far verge: which of us is it, you or I, that dares the tempest's courage? Your ministers and your prophets are pale shades: the storms I team."
> "Roll down ocean by ocean, river by river, stream by stream! Ask this of God when next you stand alone within His sight—Whose blood is it has painted Man's long history so bright? In the heart of the Almighty like a pricking thorn I lie; You only cry for ever God, oh God, oh God most high!"[56]

Thus Iqbal has come a long way from the accepted Islamic moral attitude. He considers the chief mission of man on earth to be the viceregent of God because man has the attributes of God.[57] Iqbal maintains that man has a unique capacity to recognize himself. He saw the real cause of the deterioration of Moslem society in *nafi-i-Khudi* (lack of self-cognisance), and suggested *isbāt-i-Khudi* (self-recognition), as its remedy. The capacity for self-recognition makes man supreme over other creatures.

To Iqbal all life is individual in character. The universe, as an organized association of individuals is in a state of organic growth. Man plays an important part in this process of evolution. The ethical

and religious ideal of Islam is not self-negation but self-affirmation. The individual attains this ideal by becoming more and more individual or unique. The Prophet Muhammad said "Create in yourself the attributes of God." Thus, man has as his ideal the most unique Individual, whom he has to realize. The highest form of life according to Iqbal, is the *Khudi* or Ego, in which the individual becomes a "self-contained exclusive center," both physically and spiritually. The individual draws closer and closer to God until he becomes the most complete person.[58]

Iqbal was concerned about production and distribution of material wealth in the society. Although he rejected its atheism, he was sympathetic to the Socialist movement and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The question of whether or not he was actually a Socialist is still debated.[59] Some of his followers, including the late Dr. Khalifa 'Abdūl Hakīm, have described him as a "Moslem Socialist,"[60] who thought of Islam and Socialism as supplementing each other. Others claim that Iqbal agreed with all the economic aspects of Socialism and even approved of the destruction of all outmoded social institutions, because they hindered the spiritual growth of the individual.[61] He is said to have believed that a socialistic revolution could be absorbed into Islam because socialist economy was in harmony with its aims. If Socialism adopted the Islamic concepts of God and man's spiritual vocation, it would itself become Islam.[62]

Iqbal's writings were indeed socialistically tinged throughout, and his sympathy was on the side of Socialism. His poems on Socialism are varied. Sometimes he used the name and sometimes the ideas of Marx in his condemnation of western imperialism and capitalism; for instance:

The Voice of Karl Marx

Your chessmatch of research and erudition —
Your comedy of debate and disputation!
The world has no more patience left to watch
This comedy of threadbare speculation.
What after all, sapient economists,
Is to be found in your biblification?
A comedy of nicely-flowing curves,
A sort of Barmecidal invitation.
In the idolatrous shrines of the Occident,
Its pulpits and its seats of education,
Greed and murderous crimes are marked under your
knavish comedy of cerebration.[63]

Iqbal thought that the Soviet Union was in some measure doing God's work unconsciously; he attributed its anti-religiousness to the degeneracy and corruption of the old Orthodox church.

> Unsearchable God's edicts move; who knows
> What thoughts are stirring deep in the world-mind!
> Those are appointed to pull down, who lately
> Held it salvation to protect, the priests;
> On Godless Russia the command descends:
> Smite all the Baals and Dragons of the church![64]

Iqbal believed that eventually Soviet fury would be subdued, its godlessness disappear, and it would "become Islamic in its spiritual frame of reference." This belief of Iqbal is beautifully portrayed in a poem entitled "Lenin Before God."[65]

Wilfred Cantwell Smith, a competent scholar of Indo-Pakistani Islam, asserts that Iqbal declared "that if he were made the dictator of a Moslem state he would first make it a Socialist state."[66] However, his Socialism is derived from God; it is God who orders the angels to "annihilate every imprint of the past."[67] Iqbal believes in the nationalization of the means of production and the distribution of national income in the Moslem state of his vision. He starts with the basic source of production in an agrarian economy, and declares "Landlord! this earth is not thine," because "The Earth is God's."[68]

Iqbal's influence on posterity has been incalculable. Almost all contemporary progressive thinking in Pakistan owes a debt of gratitude to him. The younger generation of Pakistanis are being imbued with Iqbal's philosophy in the schools and universities. They are the leaders of tomorrow, who will shape Pakistan's future national life. In the modern industrial age their interpretation of Iqbal's thinking will determine whether Pakistan will become a secular Socialist state or evolve into Iqbal's dream of Islamic Socialism, or neither of the two.

Pakistan National Movement. Chaudhary Rahmat Ali, who openly advocated partition of India, coined the name of Pakistan. He derived the name from the first letters of the provinces to be included in Pakistan; P standing for the Punjab, A for Afghāniā, K for Kashmir, S for Sindh, and tān for Baluchistan. The name Pakistan can also be translated as the land of the pure (*pāk* i.e. pure; *stān,* land).

Rahmat Ali denounced the notion that Moslems were an Indian minority. He believed that the Hindus had invented this idea to insure the domination of "Indianism," a "soul-killing cult," and he

castigated "Moslem politicians, patricians, and their intellectuals for repeating the doctrines of communalism and Minorityism." [69] In order to enlist the support of Moslem intellectuals, who had already been deeply shaken by the call of Iqbal, Rahmat Ali started the Pakistan National Movement in England in 1933. The objective of the movement was to "transform the cult of Indianism into the creed of Islamism, the course of minority communalism into the call of Moslem nationalism" and to safeguard "the perilous position of Moslem territories as provinces of India, into the safe status of the Moslem fatherland of Pakistan, of Bang-i-Islam and 'Usmānistān in South Asia." This movement endeavored to "dispel the old frustration [of Moslems] into a new hope for the fulfillment of the Islamic mission." [70]

In Rahmat Ali's writings the names of the three Moslem territories did not appear simultaneously. His biographer says that "by 1937 the menace of Indianism had become very acute and made the Moslems outside Pakistan conscious of the perils of their position." In the same year Rahmat Ali announced the name of Bang-i-Islam for Bengal and Assam and 'Usmānistān for Hyderabad-Deccan. He addressed a message to the Moslems of Bang-i-Islam and 'Usmānistān "urging them to cut themselves adrift from Indianism, and consolidate themselves as a nation in their respective national domains." [71] The name Pakistan, for the territories of West Pakistan had been circulated earlier in his declaration, *Now or Never*, issued on January 28, 1933.

Having delineated the territorial objectives of the Pakistan National Movement, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali described the fundamental creed of the movement. It is "that we are Moslem, not Hindu, Pakistani, not Hindoostani; and Asian, not Indian." [72] What he called the "soul-killing cult of Indianism" was the assimilative process of Indian history which has absorbed so many foreign races into Hinduism putting the Indian stamp on them all. An outstanding Hindu historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar has given us a vivid description of the Indian assimilative process: "Each race or creed that has chosen India for its home, each dynasty that has enjoyed settled rule among us for some time, each school of thought that has dominated the human mind even in a single province of India, has left its gifts which have worked in all the provinces and through many centuries, till they have lost their identity by being transformed and assimilated into the common store of India's legacy from the forgotten past—just as millions and millions of small coral insects through countless ages have given up their

bodies in building up the reefs on which many of the Pacific islands now stand secure from the rage of the fiercest tempest."[73]

On the same theme Rahmat Ali says: "In the past 3,500 years of its grip in South Asia, Indianism has systematically opposed all religions and ceaselessly worked for their disintegration . . . in its long career, it has banished Buddhism and absorbed Jainism; it has menaced Islam and has stifled Sikhism."[74] The mission of the Pakistan National Movement, Rahmat Ali declared, was not only to warn Moslems of the danger of the disintegration of Islam, but also of the death of their culture in the assimilative whirlpool. The movement stood for "the cultural liberation of the nations of South Asia from the barbarian influence of Indianism."

Rahmat Ali contended that "Indianism itself has contributed next to nothing to the cultures of South Asia." His aversion to the powerful assimilative process obscured his vision to the achievements of Indian culture, which was able to profit by the efforts of the Dravidians, Aryans, Scythians, Mongols, and other foreign races. "This means to say," he explained, that Indianism "has debased the Saracenic civilization of the Moslems, the chivalrous code of the Rajpoots, the knightly creed of the Sikhs, and the martial traditions of the Maharathas, and, in the end, attempted to Indianise them all, body, mind, and soul."[75]

In objecting to the economic supremacy of the Hindus Rahmat Ali emphasized that the Pakistan National Movement stood for "the economic liberation of the nations of South Asia from the impoverishing capitalism of Indianism." Actually capitalism in the true sense of the word did not exist. The Indian economy that he knew was agrarian. Moslems in the areas of West Pakistan, particularly in the Punjab, were peasants who were heavily indebted to Hindu money-lenders.[76] Rahmat Ali considered this indebtedness a form of capitalism. "In the land of peasants, already denuded by the demands of British imperialism," he maintained, "it has been established by the highest authorities on the subject that for every rupee a peasant pays to the government as land revenue, he pays no less than eighteen[77] as interest to the money-lending institutions and agents of Indianism."[78]

It is immaterial whether Rahmat Ali used the term capitalism rightly or wrongly. What mattered to his Moslem audience was that the exorbitant rates paid by the peasants to the Hindu money-lender signified the worst possible exploitation of man by man. They of course forgot that in addition to the Hindu money-lenders the Moslem landlords exploited them.

To escape from "Indianism" Rahmat Ali wanted to "Balkanize" the Indian sub-continent into four Hindu and three Moslem states: "Pakistan, 'Usmānistān, Bang-i-Islamistan, Guruistan (for the Sikhs, named after their first ten *Gurus*), Hindoostan, and Rajistan, Maharashtara and Dravidia." The formation of Pakistan and Bang-i-Islamistan, he justified on the basis of self-determination for the Moslem people: "Fortunately, as in Pakistan, so in Bengal, we constitute a majority of the population. It gives us the saving right of self-determination which, in principle, none can question. History created it, majority confirms it, and destiny claims it."[79]

However, Rahmat Ali forgot the principle of self-determination when referring to the Moslems' right to the territory of Hyderabad-Deccan ('Usmānistān), where Hindus were in a preponderant majority but where the ruler was a Moslem. His explanation is that "we derive our right to 'Usmānistān from those canons of International Law from which other nations deduce their claims to their dominions; that this right includes her *de jure* sovereignty which is solemnly acknowledged in the treaties originally entered into between the British Government and the 'Ala Hazrat of 'Usmānistān, the Faithful Ally."[80]

If the *de jure* sovereignty of a Moslem ruler over the Hindu population in Hyderabad could justify the creation of a sovereign and independent Moslem state, then it follows logically that the reverse position should be accepted in Kashmir which Rahmat Ali included in Pakistan. Nevertheless he asserted that "'Usmānistān is a part of our patrimony and as such, her future is inseparably bound up with that of the *millat* [nation]."[81]

Coordination Between Moslem States. Rahmat Ali has also given us a glimpse of the future relations between Pakistan, Bang-i-Islamistan and 'Usmānistān. He claimed that the main Moslem political party, "the All-India Moslem League, was founded at a time when we foolishly linked our fate to India." Therefore the All-India Moslem League was unfit to carry the burden of the national struggle because its "very name bears the stamp of Indianism, and so belies our struggle against Indianism."[82]

He suggested that the Moslem League be supplanted by an international organization "that will be dedicated both in name and in spirit to the realization of the new destiny envisaged for the *Millat* [nation] by the Pakistan National Movement." The new international organization would be instrumental in negotiating "an alliance of the

nations of Pakistan, Bang-i-Islamistan and "Usmānistān," to ensure coordination of policies. The achievements of the Pakistan National Movement can be judged by the performance of the All-India Moslem League which soon afterwards adopted the theories of Rahmat Ali.

Quide-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whom the Moslems called with much pride and endearment *Quide-i Azam* (the great leader) led the battle for the creation of Pakistan. He was, however, quite a late convert to the creed of Pakistani nationalism, striving for a long time for a *modus vivendi* between the Hindus and Moslems in an undivided India. He was described by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as "the ambassador of Hindu-Moslem unity."[83] Considered an ideal nationalist Moslem,[84] Jinnah was the last bridge between the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress. When he broke away from the creed of Hindu-Moslem nationalism, the creation of Pakistan became imminent.

Jinnah was born in Karachi on October 20, 1875, seventeen years after the revolt of 1857. His generation of Moslem youth was deeply influenced by the ideas of Saiyad Ahmad Khan and by English schools to which Moslems had started sending their children. He was hardly sixteen when he was sent to England to study law at Lincoln's Inn. In England the liberalism of Lord Morley was in full sway, and it captured the imagination of the youthful Jinnah. He had arrived in London in time to watch—and perhaps to help—the election of the first Indian, Dadabhai Naoroji (a Parsee) to the British Parliament as a member from central Finsbury. He was greatly influenced by Dadabhai Naoroji, and absorbed many of his liberal ideas, including a faith in the evolutionary development of India toward freedom.[85]

Jinnah returned to India in the autumn of 1896. Aged almost twenty he was by then a qualified attorney-at-law, devoted to the liberalism he had absorbed from Gladstone, Morley, and Dadabhai Naoroji. English had become and remained his chief language; he never mastered Urdu. He remained in Karachi for one year settling in 1897 in Bombay where he was to endure three more years of penury and disappointment before his rise began. In 1906 he was thirty years old and successful in his profession. He was beginning his political career and had to make a choice of party affiliation. The Moslem League had come into being on December 30, 1906, but the long established National Congress attracted the intellectuals of the country.

Within the Congress the liberal and moderate views emphasizing Hindu-Moslem unity and cooperation were represented by Gopal

Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915). He believed in the attainment of self-government within the British Empire by constitutional means, and considered the problem of Hindu-Moslem unity "a most difficult one, but certainly not insoluable."[66] Liberal Jinnah stated that it was his "one ambition to become the Moslem Gokhale;"[67] he joined the National Congress in 1906. It was his "pious hope that he could do much more for the Moslems from within the Congress than from without."[68] He believed that the destiny of his people was linked with the rest of India's population and that Moslems were bound to move forward with India's political progress.

From 1906 to September 30, 1921 when he left the National Congress, Jinnah stood for separate electorates for the Hindus and the Moslems. This was not so much to strengthen the Moslems' separatist tendency, as to bring them up to the economic and cultural level of the rest of India. His efforts in the direction of Hindu-Moslem unity were unquestioned and in his honor the famous People's Jinnah Memorial Hall was built in Bombay which survived even the bitterness of partition in 1947.

Jinnah's ideas about Moslem nationalism can be judged by his neutralist attitude toward the Caliphate movement which had affected virtually all Moslems. He believed that a false religious frenzy colored Indian political activity, which would ultimately do more harm than good to India in general and Moslems in particular.

During the Caliphate period Jinnah also watched Gandhi stealing the march over him in capturing the minds of both Moslems and Hindus. Jinnah and Gandhi were poles apart in their personalities. Gandhi approached the masses through their hearts captivating them with his charismatic qualities. Jinnah reached the people through their minds. For him an iron will capable of resisting an avalanche of mass prejudices represented the essence of statesmanship. Their aims were the same: both wanted complete sovereign status for India, but their methods were different. Jinnah thought that Indians should accept whatever measures of reform the British government conceded and introduce them into the Indian constitution. Side by side Indian leaders should concentrate upon the education of the people and the amelioration of their social and economic condition. This would, according to Jinnah, lead to increased political consciousness, an understanding of the meaning of representative government and the elementary rules of democracy. Jinnah fought in the Council Chamber for the Indianisation of the army and the higher administrative service, for introduction of representative institutions in the government,

for increased association of Indians with the British and for progressive political reforms. Jinnah believed in achieving freedom for India through evolutionary constitutional methods.[89]

Gandhi, on the other hand, regarded constitutional parliamentary methods as only one of the means of achieving the liberation of India. Like Tilak he appealed to the religious sentiments of the Hindus with a view to strengthening them politically. Gandhi's Hinduism, it goes without saying, was not Tilak's narrow ethnocentrism. Gandhi delved into the inner recesses of the Hindu mind and from its historical experiences created *Satyagraha*,[90] with its offshoots—passive resistance, non-cooperation and civil disobedience, which he also applied to the Caliphate movement. Gandhi openly admitted that the *Satyagraha* was religiously inspired. Referring to the Hindu doctrine of self-abnegation, he wrote in 1920 a famous article "The Doctrine of the Sword" in which he said: "I have . . . ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For *Satyagraha* and its offshoots, non-cooperation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The rīshīs [ancient Hindu sages], who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realized their uselessness, and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence."[91]

Hindu mythology is replete with stories of great ascetics who by the rigor of their sacrifices and self-imposed penance built up a "mountain of merit" which threatened the dominion of some of the lesser gods and upset the established order. Perhaps in another country, as Jawaharlal Nehru said, Gandhi would have been out of place, but Hindu India appreciated a religious prophet who talked of sin and salvation and non-violence. Jinnah revolted against Gandhi's "extreme program" leading to "complete disorganization and chaos." Jinnah believed that to stir the masses by way of their emotions was a sin. Thus was the wedge driven between himself and Gandhi whom he described as "that Hindu revivalist."[92] He left the Indian National Congress because it adopted Gandhi's doctrines.

Jinnah's star was now on the decline. He was thoroughly disillusioned with the nature of Indian politics which was dominated by Gandhian ideology. The relations between Hindus and Moslems were steadily deteriorating despite numerous efforts made between 1921 and 1928 to bring the two nationalities together. However, Jinnah's faith in Hindu-Moslem unity did not weaken. When Ramsay Macdonald formed the Labor ministry in Britain in 1929 he invited

the Indian leaders to a Round Table Conference in London. Between 1930 and 1932 three such conferences were held to settle the differences between the Hindus and the Moslems. Jinnah was one of the fifty-eight delegates from India. The conclusions of the first few sessions were encouraging. The future constitutional development of India was to be on a federal basis; certain matters regarding defense and financial stability were still to be controlled by the British, but otherwise full responsibility for government was to be in Indian hands.[93]

The Second Round Table Conference failed. The harmony in which the delegates had met in 1930 was shattered in 1931. Jinnah was overshadowed by the Agha Khan, the leader of the Moslem delegation and by Gandhi, representing the Congress. The rival leaders merely transplanted their fierce domestic quarrels from India to London. Unreasonable scenes were stirred up whenever the Hindu-Moslem problem was discussed. Jinnah was now altogether eclipsed. He was not included in the third Round Table Conference because he was not thought to represent any considerable school of opinion in India. However, in London he met another Moslem delegate to the Conferences, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, and they became good friends. Despite his disillusion Jinnah did not adopt Iqbal's ideas of a separate Moslem State, for which the name Pakistan had just been coined. Jinnah was still an "Indian first and a Moslem afterwards."[94]

When the Round Table Conferences were over Jinnah stayed on in England to practice law at the Privy Council Bar. He was beginning to look at the Moslems' political position from a different angle. "I received the shock of my life at the Round Table Conference," said Jinnah in a speech to the students of Aligarh Moslem University in 1938. "The Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. The *Mussālmāns* were like dwellers in no Man's Land: they were led either by the flunkeys of the British Government or the camp-followers of the Congress. Whenever attempts were made to organize the Muslims, toadies and flunkies on the one hand, and traitors in the Congress camp on the other, frustrated the efforts. I began to feel that neither could I help India, nor change the Hindu mentality; nor could I make the *Mussālmāns* realize their precarious position. . . . I decided to settle down in London."[95]

It was now evident that Jinnah was moving step by step towards the ideals of Pakistani nationalism. Moslem leaders in India began to realize that they needed Jinnah's dynamic leadership. Liaquat Ali Khan who became the first Prime Minister of Pakistan fourteen years

later called on Jinnah in 1933 at his London home and exhorted him to return to India. Jinnah felt that he was needed and therefore returned in October, 1935. The next five years of Jinnah's political activity were devoted to political thinking and were in essence a period of transition from his position of a "Nationalist Moslem" to that of a "Moslem Nationalist." Iqbal played an appreciable role in his conversion.

Iqbal was in a good position to advise Jinnah on the development of Pakistani nationalism. He also understood the viewpoints of outstanding Congress leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru who considered the Hindu-Moslem conflict an economic issue. Referring to a statement of Jawaharlal Nehru before the All-India National Convention, Iqbal wrote a letter to Jinnah on March 20, 1937. In this letter the poet-philosopher of Pakistan urged Jinnah to restate before the convention "as clearly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Moslems as a distinct political unit in the country. It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country. From the Moslem point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Moslems." [96]

Iqbal, a Moslem socialist, saw the solution to Moslem poverty not in Nehru's variety of socialism but in the modernisation of Moslem society and Islamic laws. In a letter to Jinnah on May 28, 1937, he said that "the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal is not likely to receive much response from the Moslems." As a remedy for the economic backwardness of the Moslems, Iqbal suggested in the same letter the adoption of a comprehensive economic plan in the light of Islam: "After a long and careful study of Islamic law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody." However, Iqbal felt that without the creation of a Moslem state such an ideological experiment was not possible. He advised Jinnah that "the enforcement and development of the *Shari'a* of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Moslem state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Moslems as well as to secure a peaceful India." [97]

On June 21, 1937, Iqbal wrote to Jinnah another letter in which he commented on the Moslems' dissatisfaction with the Indian constitution as envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. He asserted that "the new constitution is devised only to placate the

Hindus." Iqbal reasoned further that "in these circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious, and linguistic affinities." In the same letter Iqbal asked Jinnah "why should not the Moslems of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self-determination just as other nations in India and outside India?"[98]

It is difficult to determine whether or not the constitution of 1935 was really designed to placate the Hindus. However, the manner in which it was put into operation by the Congress ministries between 1937 and 1939 further alienated Moslem sympathy. In the provincial elections of 1937 the Congress, having won a majority in five provinces and emerged as the strongest single party in two others, decided to form ministries in these provinces. The Congress had failed to capture Sindh, the Punjab and Bengal while Assam remained precariously balanced between the Congress and the Moslem League. Throughout the discussions leading up to the 1935 constitution it had been assumed that representatives of the minorities would be included in the provincial governments. The governors of the provinces had been instructed to insure this as far as possible. In the non-Congress provinces this was achieved to some extent, but the Congress high command refused to sanction Congress-League coalitions. In the Hindu-majority provinces ministries consisting only of Congressmen were formed. In the United Provinces, as Choudhry Khalīq-uz-Zamān has highlighted in his memoirs, Moslem representatives were invited to join the ministry, but only on the condition that they become members of the Congress party, and that the Moslem League would cease to exist.[99] In other provinces similar conditions were imposed.[100]

Throughout India the Moslems were greatly alarmed. They began to complain of unfair treatment given by the Congress ministries. Jinnah went so far as to demand the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the alleged oppression of Moslems. At the annual session of the All-India Moslem League held at Patna on December 26 to 29, 1938, Jinnah bitterly accused the Congress ministries for suppression of Moslem culture by compelling Moslem children in municipal and government schools to sing *Bande Mataram*[101] "an idolatrous and a hymn of hate against Moslems," and by hoisting the Congress flag on public buildings. Above all, the Congress had invented "the whole scheme of Hindi-Hindūstānī to stifle and suppress Urdu."[102]

When World War II broke out the Congress demanded the immedi-

ate independence of India. In October 1939, having failed in bargaining attempts with the British government, the Congress party directed Congress provincial ministries to resign. Jinnah, as the President of the Moslem League, declared December 2, 1939, as the "Deliverance Day," as a mark of relief that the Congres regime had at last ceased to function. By this time all thoughts of a future federated India had disappeared from Jinnah's mind. Both the Moslem League and the Congress developed private armies. For some time the Congress had had its own semi-trained volunteers, and now the Moslem League recruited and put into uniform the Moslem National Guards.[103]

At the beginning of 1940 the Moslem League was ready to adopt the claim for an independent Pakistan as the national manifesto. On March 22 the annual session of the League opened in Lahore. Jinnah delivered his presidential oration, which is a clear-cut testimony to Pakistani nationalism. "The Moslems are not a minority," said Jinnah. "The *Musālmāns* are a nation by any definition. We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country, where the *Musālmāns* are in a majority—such as Bengal, the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh, and Baluchistan."[104]

He declared that the British government had developed settled notions about India's future based on their own parliamentary system with a cabinet. Jinnah believed that the British government was committing a blunder in superimposing their system on other countries which lacked homogeneous populations. He did not think that Hindus and Moslems would ever evolve a common nationality. Referring to the Hindu-Moslem relations prior to the advent of the British, Jinnas said: "notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by un-natural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes. What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realized by the imposition of a central federal government."[105]

Jinnah pointed out that for religious and cultural reasons Hindus and Moslems could not evolve into a single nation: "Hinduism and Islam are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders. . . . The Hindus and Moslems belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literature. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based on

conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspect on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and *Musālmāns* derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent, and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state."[106]

Jinnah vigorously denounced the plea of geographic unity of India which, according to its proponents, calls for the development of one nation. "History has also shown to us many geographical tracts," maintained Jinnah, "much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which otherwise have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. The Balkan peninsula comprises as many as seven or eight sovereign states. Likewise, the Portuguese and Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation, which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government when we know that the history of the last twelve hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed during the ages, India always divided into Hindu and Moslem India."[107]

Since Moslems are a nation, Jinnah demanded that "they must have their homelands, their territory and their state, [because] we wish our people to develop to the fullest their spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people."[108]

On March 22, 1940 the Moslem League under Jinnah's guidance passed the Pakistan resolution. It stated that "no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Moslems unless it is designed . . . that the areas in which the Moslems are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."[109] With the passage of this resolution Jinnah, who had once been an apostle of the unity of India, set his course steadfastly towards partition and would not be deflected either by blandishments or by threats.

Four months after the Pakistan resolution the Congress launched a non-cooperation movement against the British government's war efforts. The Moslem League maintained "a theoretical neutrality combined with practical cooperation in the war."[110] The British

decided to appeal to India for help. To prove her good intentions, Sir Stafford Cripps was sent with new constitutional proposals. The British government promised to set up immediately after the hostilities a constituent assembly elected by the lower houses of the provincial legislatures, unless the main parties agreed on some other basis. This assembly would also include representatives of the princely states. Britain promised to accept the constitution drafted by the assembly subject to only two qualifications. The first was that any province not satisfied with the new constitution might secede from the union. The other was the negotiation of a treaty between the British government and the constituent assembly regarding the rights of minorities. The Congress refused to accept the right of provinces to secede from the union and objected to the provision that representatives of the princely states were to be nominated by the rulers. The Moslems on the other hand were satisfied since the proposal contained possibilities of partition. However, when the Congress rejected the Cripps proposals Jinnah considered it tactically wise to join in the rejection so that the Moslems could later make a new claim for partition less hedged in by conditions.

On August 7, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay and under Gandhi's leadership launched the Civil Disobedience Movement which was in effect rebellion. Unlike previous civil disobedience movements spearheaded by Gandhi, this rebellion was to be quick and decisive. Every possible attempt was made to paralyze the administration. It led at once to violence on an unprecedented scale. The Moslem League, on the other hand, maintained a benevolent neutrality towards the government. Actually the Civil Disobedience Movement had little effect on India's contribution to the war. Recruits, both Hindu and Moslem, signed up in adequate numbers. The Hindu Mahasbha, an extremist political party, regarded the war as an opportunity to give vast numbers of Hindus military training and thus prepare them to fight the Moslems after the war.[111]

During these years the intense Moslem propaganda for a separate homeland began to have its effect on certain segments of the Congress leadership. Particularly C. Rajagopalachari openly began to urge acceptance of the demands of the Moslem League. In 1942 the Madras Congress Legislative Party under his leadership, passed a resolution "to acknowledge the Moslem League's claim for separation.[112]

Cabinet Mission Plan: Last Chance For India's Unity. In March 1946, a British cabinet mission came to India for the purpose of making

another attempt at settling the differences between Hindus and Moslems and to offer self-government. After a series of consultations with the Congress and the Moslem leaders the mission published its plan on May 16. It provided that only defense, foreign affairs and communications would come under the federal government. It divided the country into three zones labelled A, B, and C. Section A was to comprise all Hindu majority areas. Section B, including the Punjab, Sindh, Northwestern Frontier Province and Baluchistan would constitute a Moslem majority area. In section C, including Bengal and Assam, the Moslems were to have a small majority. The sections were to "settle the provincial constitutions for the provinces included in each section." After the constitutional arrangements had begun operating, it was left open to "any Province to elect to come out of any group in which it has been placed." [113]

The Moslem League accepted the plan, especially since Moslem dominance was assured in Sections B and C. Jinnah probably felt that if the Moslems were dissatisfied, they could opt out of the union. The Pakistan Plan did, after all, not include Assam in Bengal. Perhaps Jinnah also knew that the British government was not prepared to go any further in meeting the demands of the Moslems. On June 26, the Congress Working Committee also accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan. The latter was ratified by the All-India Congress Committee on July 7.

Moslems who were longing for the promised land were frustrated; nevertheless they acquiesced to Jinnah's judgement. The Hindu leaders started a virulent propaganda campaign against the provision for sections which would put the Hindus of Assam under Moslem domination. At this stage Nehru and Gandhi played a decisive role, changing the course of events beyond recognition. On July 10, Nehru held a press conference in Bombay. A journalist asked him if the Congress had accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan in toto. Nehru answered that "the Congress would enter the Constituent Assembly completely unfettered by agreements and free to meet all situations as they arise . . . and regarded itself free to change or modify the Cabinet Mission Plan as it thought best." [114]

Gandhi had originally supported the Cabinet Mission Plan. When Gopinath Bardoloi, the Hindu Chief Minister of Assam, persisted in his opposition to Assam's inclusion in Group C, Gandhi changed his mind. On December 15, 1946, he said in an interview: "I told Bardoloi that if there is no clear guidance from the Congress Committee, Assam

should not go into the Section. It should lodge its protest and retire from the Constituent Assembly."

Gandhi, who considered the Moslems a "bunch of converts" and "essentially descendants of Hindu parents," was morally outraged when he realized that in Group C the "descendants of the Hindus" would have a slight numerical edge over the parent stock. "Assam must not lose its soul," was the advice he gave to the Hindus of Assam. "It must uphold it [self] against the whole world. Else I will say that Assam had only minikins and no men. It is an impertinent suggestion that Bengal should dominate Assam in any way."[115]

Jinnah reacted very sharply to Gandhi's and Nehru's statements because he regarded the provisions of the Cabinet Mission Plan as the basis of India's future constitution. Nehru's position was criticised by his loyal and faithful colleague Abul Kalam Azad. To the latter Jawaharlal's statement was wrong because "It was not correct to say that Congress was free to modify the Plan as it pleased. We [the National Congress] had in fact agreed that the Central Government would be federal. . . . We had further agreed that there should be three sections viz. A, B, C in which the provinces would be grouped. These matters could not be changed unilaterally by Congress without the consent of other parties to the agreement."[116]

The Moslem League answered by rejecting the Cabinet Mission Plan. They also decided to resort to direct action for the establishment of Pakistan.

In October 1946, under pressure from the British Viceroy Lord Mountbatten, both the League and the Congress joined the interim government of India. The Moslem League's Liaquat Ali Khan became finance minister. A few months later the mockery of Cabinet unity became manifest to the world when prominent Congress leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and C. Rajagopalachari accused Liaquat Ali Khan of introducing a budget designed to harm the industrialists and businessmen, the majority of whom were Hindus.[117] The Viceroy now impressed on the Congress leaders that this deadlock would inevitably lead to partition. Soon eminent Hindu leaders including Sardar Patel accepted the Moslems' demand by admitting that "whether we [the National Congress] like it or not, there were two nations in India. . . . There was no alternative except to recognize the fact."[118] With this recognition by the Congress leadership the last stumbling block in the way to the creation of Pakistan was removed. At the dawn of August 14, 1947 the new state of Pakistan was born.

New Trends. Large-scale population migration and bloodshed attended Pakistan's birth, creating fear of India in the minds of the Moslems and intensifying their militancy. How many people were involved in the migration can be gathered from a statement by Habīb Ibrahīm Rahmatūllāh, Pakistan's High Commissioner in Britain, before the East India Association in London on November 4, 1947: "by agreement between the two governments [India and Pakistan] it was decided to send to East Punjab [India] approximately 3.5 million Sikhs and Hindus who were anxious to leave the country . . . in return we agreed to take about 5 million Moslems. . . . At one time we hoped to confine the migration of the Moslems to those in East Punjab less the Ambala Division and the [princely] states. This would have given the reasonable figure of 3,124,000 and would have met a fairly equal exchange. But our hands were forced by the Sikhs making life impossible for the Moslems in the [princely] states and in the Ambala Division, and we have to find room now for the very figure of nearly 5,400,000."[110]

The precise number of evacuees killed in the migration is difficult to ascertain. However, it has been estimated that "the casualties approximated ten percent of the number of refugees." This is a staggering figure especially if one keeps in mind that the total number of people involved both from East and West Pakistan and India were almost eleven million. The transfer of population was not complete. Some thirty-five million Moslems remained in India and some thirteen million Hindus remained in Pakistan, almost exclusively in East Pakistan.

Pakistani nationalism was further intensified by the Kashmir war. At the time of partition there were 584 princely states scattered over India. The overwhelming majority of them were Hindu, only a half dozen were Moslem. The general assumption was that the Hindu states would join India and the Moslem states, Pakistan. Nearly all of the princely states joined either one country or the other. However, the princes of Hyderabad, Junagadh (in the south), and Kashmir (in the north) chose to join neither country. On August 15, 1947, the date of partition, they became technically independent states. One month later the Moslem ruler of Junagadh with a predominantly Hindu population joined Pakistan. Thereupon the Indian army entered the state and assured the Hindu population that they had the right to decide to which country they wanted to belong. They voted for India. Hyderabad's Moslem ruler tried to postpone indefinitely any decision concerning the fate of the predominantly Hindu

population "but this too was solved by way of arms when the Indian army forced its way into the state in September 1948, and the country became part of India." [120]

The Hindu ruler of Kashmir, whose population was 85% Moslem, decided to join India. Pakistan refused to recognize the ruler's right to decide the fate of the Kashmiri Moslems. Consequently war broke out between India and Pakistan. India brought the matter before the United Nations where it was decided that a free plebiscite should be held under the auspices of the United Nations to determine the preference of the Kashmiri people. India since then has occupied Kashmir and refused to hold a plebiscite. On the contrary, she now insists that the ruler of Kashmir had a legal right to accede to India, which glaringly contrasts with her denial of similar rights to the rulers of Junagadh and Hyderabad.

The impact of the Kashmir war on the Pakistani mind can be compared to that produced on the Americans by the war of 1812 against England for the conquest of Canada. The objective was the expulsion of the English from the American continent and perhaps the unification "of the whole nation through a common effort and common feelings of hatred and pride." [121] While the American war was, as pointed out by Frederick Otto Hertz, essentially aggressive, the Kashmir war was a defensive one for the Pakistanis. Whatever might have been the psychological and political motives of either war, their results in fostering unity among the Pakistanis and the Americans were identical. "The consciousness of nationality, which came out of the second war with Great Britain" says Professor Babcock, "was the chief political result, and the one most far-reaching in its effect. The war gave the people a new, almost intoxicating sense of self-respect." [122]

The loss of Kashmir engendered bitterness and frustration, but also furnished the Pakistanis with a crusading mission for the liberation of the Kashmiris who shared their ethnic, cultural, religious and nationalistic heritage. The manner in which India occupied the Valley of Kashmir and prevented any expression of the wishes of the majority of the people, has made Kashmir a highly emotional national issue in Pakistan. At the same time the Kashmir war further clarified the reasons for the partition of India. The Indian action in Kashmir substantiated the Pakistanis' fear of their eventual domination by the Hindus in a united India.

Regional Loyalties in Pakistan. Before we discuss the phenomenon

of regionalism in Pakistan a few words of caution might be in order. Regional loyalty is not a peculiarity of the Pakistani people; such loyalties exist with more or less intensity in almost all countries of the world. Like nationalism, regional loyalty is "a state of mind," which develops as the result of peoples' attachment to local traditions, dialects and history. For example, Welshmen, though they owe their legal and psychological loyalty to the greater British nation, still retain an exuberant feeling for Wales. This love for Wales does not exclude their devotion to Britain.

This "state of mind," or the "corporate will of the people" to live together, which has been described by Professor Hans Kohn as "the most essential element" of nationalism,[123] is not immutably fixed. It is the product of a long historical process in which the cultural, religious and linguistic experiences of a people coalesce. Sometimes the pull of regional loyalty becomes so strong that people cease to consider themselves as part of the "whole nation." This happened for instance, in the American Civil War. Had the South won, the existence of two American nations on the continent would have been quite probable. Pakistan, divided into two parts by a thousand miles of Indian territory, is susceptible to the development of intense regional loyalties.

In March 1952, Muhammad Ali (Bogra), then Prime Minister of Pakistan, tabled a motion in the Parliament to amend sections 139 and 140-A of the 1935 Government of India Act, the relevant portions of which provided the constitutional structure of Pakistan. The amendment of Section 140-A provided for the sales tax to come under the jurisdiction of the federal government. Earlier the Tax Enquiry Committee had recommended that the sales tax be administered by the federal government with the power of allocating a proportionate share of the revenue to the provinces.[124]

This was perhaps the first manifest disagreement between the provinces of Pakistan in regard to matters of taxation. Apparently a simple matter, it created a tempest. East Bengal's total income, as estimated in 1952-1953, including the federal government's grant-in-aid and other development grants, amounted to Rs. 28 *crors,* (280,-000,000 rupees). Its estimated expenditure according to Nūr Ahmad, an East Pakistani parliament member, was Rs. 29 *crors.* Mr. Ahmad pleaded for more money on the grounds of the meagerness of East Bengal's resources and also because "Pakistan stands as a whole and it has to be developed as a whole."[125]

The other provinces were also dissatisfied with the share of revenue allocated to their respective exchequers. Finally the federal govern-

ment asked Sir Jeremy Raisman, a British financial expert, to arbitrate because a Pakistani financial expert might have been considered biased in favor of his own region. Raisman made a comprehensive study of income taxes, central excise duties and the sales tax. The proportions in which tax revenues were to be divided among the provinces were specified in the Raisman Award. The Prime Minister assured the provinces that the government would adhere strictly to the provisions of the award.

In April 1952 a new disagreement arose between East and West Pakistan. Nūr Ahmad, who one month earlier had advocated the "economic unity" of Pakistan in the parliament, proposed a bill to have Bengali, along with Urdu, declared an official language of Pakistan. His bill was enthusiastically supported by A. K. Fazlul Haq, a veteran East Pakistani statesman who had twelve years previously, moved the Pakistan Resolution in Lahore. He said that "there is not any inhabitant of East Pakistan at present who can be expected to vote for Urdu only as the state language of Pakistan."[126]

The greatest champions of Bengali were the East Pakistani Hindu members of the Parliament. Mr. Kamini Kumar Dutta, a Hindu member of the National Congress Parliamentary Party, who supported the bill, described Bengali as "the vehicle of the composite culture of the Moslems and Hindus of East Bengal . . . it is really enriched and developed during the Moslem rule . . . so it is not a vehicle of Hindu culture or may I say it is a vehicle only of the Moslem culture."[127]

Professor Raj Kumar Chakraverty, another Hindu member from East Pakistan, described Pakistan as a multi-lingual state and said that the demand for Bengali "is no provincialism at all. It is the demand of democracy; it is the demand of self-determination."[128] The use of the term "self-determination" in this context is interesting, since it is universally used to mean the right of a nation, not part of a nation, to determine its destiny according to its own free will.

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya, a leading Hindu member from East Pakistan, described Bengali as the language of Bengali Moslems, and not Hindus. He said that "the Hindu language is Sanskrit. Bengali was adopted by the Moslem rulers and not by Hindu rulers." In modern India there are only about five hundred scholars who can converse in Sanskrit. Actually both Bengali and Urdu are derived from Sanskrit and are products of India. However, the development of Urdu in a Moslem social milieu, as pointed out in Chapter II, made it the vehicle of Moslem thought. Therefore one wonders whether Shri Chattopadhyaya made this statement to dispel the doubts of

East Pakistani Moslems, who thought of Bengali as a Hindu tongue. It has already been pointed out how Moslem children in Bengal boycotted English schools in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the English adopted Bengali as the medium of instruction.

The loyalties of East Pakistanis for their regional traditions have their counterpart in West Pakistan. In early 1954 the United Front, a coalition of parties from the right to the extreme left, triumphed over the Moslem League. While the framing of the constitution was in its final stage, it was decided that the federal government should grant substantial autonomy to East Pakistan and to West Pakistan, which was to be created by uniting the Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and the Northwestern Frontier Province.

In September 1955, the debates for the creation of the West Pakistan Province started. Spokesmen advocating the amalgamation of the provinces emphasized the cultural unity of the area. In the early 1950's Pakistani authors, inspired by British scholars, had already started to popularize this theme, pointing out that West Pakistan, heir to the five thousand year old Indus Valley civilization, has always been a cultural unity.[129] The discovery of the Indus Valley civilization was made by western archeologists including Sir John Marshall and Sir Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler. Sir Mortimer Wheeler wrote a monumental work—*Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, on discoveries near Harappa in the West Punjab and Mohenjo Daro in Sindh. "The book is a paradox," said Sir Mortimer, "but contains a fundamental truth. Pakistan is a new Islamic state but is, nevertheless, like its older neighbours, a product of historical process of which Islam itself is only the most recent and emphatic."[130]

This line of thought makes Islam appear as a late phase in the history of the West Pakistan area, because it "can claim an ancestral unity rivalled only by that of Egypt. That unity was essentially the work of man but was set within a framework defined by nature: with the Arabian Sea on the South-West, now dominated by the Port and Capital of Karachi, the Baluchistan and Himalayan mountains in the west and north, and the Indian Desert in the south-east, the axis of this vast area—a thousand miles from end to end—is the mighty river Indus and its tributaries—within this valley and along the coastal plains which flank its lower reaches, there flourished more than four thousand years ago, under climatic conditions moister and kindlier than those which prevail today, one of the earliest civilizations of the world."[131]

Sir Mortimer presents West Pakistan as a cultural and geographic

unity, which for centuries waited to be given a name. He believes that just as Christian civilizations of the west cannot be comprehended without some considerable study of their pre-Christian antecedents, pre-Islamic achievements are equally worthy of the most careful study. "Such things count," wrote Sir Mortimer, "for much in the intellectual prestige of a modern nation. They add distinction to the intellectual heritage of Pakistan. . . ."[132]

The assertion that West Pakistanis are heirs to the Indus Valley civilization may not be quite accurate. Nevertheless, V. Gordon Childe maintains that "many of the fundamental achievements of the Harappan civilization survived the catastrophe and the ensuing Dark Age, and live in the folk culture of Pakistan." As examples of such fundamental achievements Childe says that "the village carts of Sindh are identical, even to wheel span, with those that rolled along the broad streets of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro. Village potters have preserved unchanged the technical traditions of building, embellishing and firing pots that were applied four thousand years ago, though they have varied shape and patterns to suit the tastes of fresh customers. The same continuity could be illustrated by fashions of personal ornament and dress and by surviving pagan cults."[133] This may be true, but many more of the fundamental characteristics of the Indus Valley civilization, including its religion and rituals were incorporated into Hindu culture, but not into Moslem culture as it developed in India. Nevertheless the suggestion of prestige provided by Sir Mortimer's theory was not lost on the intellectuals of West Pakistan. Parliament members used the sophisticated reasoning of V. Gordon Childe and Sir Mortimer Wheeler in supporting the bill for the creation of the province of West Pakistan in August and September, 1955.

The federal government proposed the one-unit bill in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in August 1955. It was most vigorously defended by Mian Mumtāz Muhammad Khan Daulatānā, a Moslem Leaguer. His arguments followed Sir Mortimer Wheeler's line of reasoning:

"Historically the region had been one from times immemorial. The excavations at Mohenjo Daro point out that a great civilization had flourished there in the centuries past with its off-shoots at Harappa (South Punjab), Taxila (North Punjab), and Machha (Baluchistan). The history of the civilization of this area was not a design of conflict but an exquisite blend and harmony of different cultures and learnings. Here from the beginnings of time, the people have acted in unison and close cooperation with each other . . . the people of West Pakistan

had the same mental direction since ages. Even before the glorious advent of Islam in the region, people of this part fought together, struggled together and developed together. The first mystic of India, the author of Rig-Veda gave his spiritual message from this region . . . in accepting Budhism the whole region responded as one people. Gautam Budh [Buddha] found this area most amenable to his teaching. Then came Gandhara Culture,[134] which also originated from here. When Islam came this area reacted as one whole and embraced it, discarding everything else. Within one century of the advent of Islam, the whole of West Pakistan was a Moslem area. . . . In spite of some superficial differences in languages and customs, there was a basic culture which permeated the entire people of this region. In fact it was, as if, on one canvas different colours were blended to make a beautiful picture. Different races in West Pakistan were blended together. No one can tell where, for instance, the Pathans end and the Punjabis begin and where the Sindhis begin and the Punjabis end. . . . The same was true of languages. All the languages that flourish here have the same roots, the same script and similar expressions. No one can demarcate this region on a linguistic basis, because the languages are so blended together that it is impossible to tell where one language begins and the other ends. . . ."[135]

From this plea one is likely to get the impression that a twin spirit of Hegel's *geist* resides in the Indus Valley. Daulatānā implied that the uniformity of the historical, cultural and even racial history of the people of the Indus Valley anticipated the emergence of the West Pakistani nationality, if such a term can be applied. According to him the unity of the Indus Valley was shattered for the first time by the British in their efforts to break up resistance leading to the creation of different provinces. As late as 1901 the North West Frontier Province was part of the Punjab. Then Lord Curzon drove a wedge between them. Daulatānā reported that in 1938 a suggestion was made to the British government to integrate the areas which comprised the Punjab, Sindh and the North West Frontier Province. However, "higher imperialistic expediencies" stood in the way of unification. "The creation of Pakistan was an act of the consolidation of scattered Moslem forces," he declared, because "as the result of this the Moslem World [in India?] emerged a solid bloc. The *Quaid-i-Azam* [M. A. Jinnah] gave us a strong consolidated country." Therefore, Daulatānā predicted that with the creation of a single West Pakistan province, "large loyalty would assert itself, true patriotism would come up, and provincialism [regional loyalties] would go."[136] To sum

up Daulatānā's arguments, West Pakistan is, culturally, geographically and historically, an integrated whole.

One should not ignore the impact on East Pakistanis of the West Pakistanis' claim to be the heir of the five thousand year old Indus Valley civilization. "Your existence may have resulted from that culture [Indus Valley]," declared Mr. Nūr-ur-Rahman of East Pakistan in the Parliament, "but I wonder where does East Pakistan stand after the exposition of this theory? Is this talk of unity between East and West Pakistan all empty? Do we stand on sand banks, only to slip down into the deep sea? What would then bind East and West Pakistan?" [137]

The East Pakistanis felt that their regional, cultural and historical traditions were slighted by West Pakistan's claim to antiquity. Nūr-ur-Rahman remarked that "we too have very old culture and history. Our culture has roots in the past many centuries. We have our own history and heroes. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of them. We all, Hindus and Moslems, are proud of his great deeds."

Rahman then stated that in spite of common history and heroes, the Moslems and Hindus of Bengal could not live together. "Why is it so? What makes people unite as one nation? Is it religion or culture which makes people one?", he asked. He answered these questions in the following manner: "No, these factors were not important. Religion was not the most important factor, much less the only factor. In fact the most important factor was [here Mr. Rahman reiterates Hans Kohn's definition of nationalism] the will of the people to live together [with West Pakistanis]. If there was a will there was everything. But if the will was lacking no common culture or history could have united the people [of East Pakistan with West Pakistan]." [138]

The basic problem of Pakistani nationalism is not a lack of goodwill between East and West Pakistan but rather a question of whether they could stay permanently united under one government. Pakistanis will be well-advised not to take the unity of East and West Pakistan for granted. Political adroitness, compromise and diplomatic skill will always be needed to mitigate the inherent differences between the two parts of Pakistan.

Chapter IX

OPPOSITION TO PAKISTANI NATIONALISM

The All-India National Congress was the fiercest opponent of Pakistan. But various religious and political organizations also opposed the new state, such as two Moslem religious parties, the *Jama'āt-i-Islami* of Mawlana Saiyad Abul-'alā Maudodi and *Jami'āt ul-'Ulamā'-i-Hind,* which was greatly influenced by Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad. They opposed the creation of Pakistan for different reasons.

Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad. Mawlana Azad's fore-fathers came to India from Herat (Afghanistan) in Babur's days. Subsequent to 1857 Azad's father Mawlana Khair-ud-Din migrated from India to Mecca where he married the daughter of Shaikh Muhammad Zahir Watri. Azad was born in Mecca in 1888. A year later the family settled in Calcutta. Azad's father distrusted western ideas and refused to give his son a modern education. Azad was a precocious child who mastered Islamic lore before he was out of his teens. He wrote a critical review of *Hayāt-i-Jawid* by Khawja Iltāf Husain Halī, which attracted wide attention. In 1904 he was invited to deliver an address at the annual session of *Anjaman-i-Himāyat-i-Islam* in Lahore. The audience included several distinguished people such as the poet Halī, the essayist Nazīr Ahmad and the poet-philosopher of Pakistan, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal. In his lecture Azad, who was then only sixteen years old, discussed the rational basis of religion. When the speaker was introduced, Halī, whose book Azad had reviewed in detail, took him to be the son of Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad. He was utterly astonished when he learned that the lad was no other than the author of the review. The speech was to offer an even greater surprise. That day Azad made a name for himself among Moslem intellegentsia.[1]

Even at this early age Azad was concerned with ways and means of ameliorating the status of Moslems in India. Saiyad Ahmad Khan's writings stimulated his desire to serve the Moslems even though he realized that the author's policies were outmoded.[2] He decided to kindle a spirit of rebellion against the policies of the Aligarh School

and to undermine the idea of loyalty to the British rule in the Moslem mind.

For this purpose Azad announced the publication of a weekly called *al-Hilāl* (the Crescent). The first issue was published on June 1, 1912. From this time to 1920 a distinct period in the intellectual development of Azad can be noticed. His program for Moslem awakening is a land-mark in the history of Moslem nationalism.[3] It has caused a great deal of misunderstanding among his followers and his foes alike. His followers continued to hold the views which Azad had between 1912 and 1920, but failed to detect the metamorphosis in Azad's thinking, which was caused by his reaction to the Caliphate debacle. His foes (who were essentially his former followers) especially in the late thirties and forties, accused him of a betrayal of Moslem nationalism. He had actually ceased to espouse this nationalism after the 1920's.

It is interesting to note Azad's program from 1912 to 1920. A Moslem correspondent asked Azad what policy he favored: (a) should Moslems continue to follow the traditional policy (presumably pro-British); (b) should they adopt the ways of moderate Hindu leaders who demanded more political rights within the framework of the British Empire; (c) or should they emulate the Hindu anarchists of Bengal. The correspondent also asked Azad to distinguish between his political views and religious convictions.[4]

On September 8, 1912, in an article, "*al-Hilāl Ka Maqsid awr Political Ta'līm*," (*al-Hilāl's* Aims and Political Education), Azad answered these questions comprehensively. He indicated that it was doubtful whether he could separate religion from politics because he had learned his political principles from religion. "According to our belief" he wrote "any ideas not derived from the Qur'an are tantamount to sheer infidelity and political views are not an exception to this rule." He believed that Islam brought an exalted and comprehensive social order for mankind and that there was not a single social problem for which Islam did not provide a solution. "It is regrettable," said Azad, "that Moslems have not examined Islam at its zenith. If they did, they would not be bowing their heads in subjection to the Hindus." He declared unequivocably that "*al-Hilāl's* aim is to invite Moslems to follow the Book of Allah and the *Sharī'a* of His Prophet. In cultural, political or other matters Moslems ought to be Moslems [and nothing else]."[5]

In discussing the policies of the two Hindu political groups—i.e. the moderates and the anarchists—Azad stated that he did not follow

either of these. "Islam is so exalted a religion," he declared, "that its followers are not constricted to ape the Hindus for the formulation of their political policy. There cannot be a greater shame for the Moslems than to bow before others for political education. Moslems need not join any [political] party. They were the leaders of the world. If they would submit to God, the entire world would submit to them."[6]

Al-Hilāl's policy for the Moslems was distrust of the British government and non-cooperation with the Hindus. He wanted the Moslems to follow "the straight path of Islam." As far as concrete political aims were concerned, "Hindus can like other nations, revive their self-awareness and national consciousness on the basis of secular nationalism but it is indeed not possible for Moslems. Their nationality is not inspired by racial or geographic exclusivity; it transcends all man-made barriers. Therefore until they are inspired by Islam the spirit of self-awareness will not be imbued in Moslems. Europe may be inspired by the concepts of "nation" and "homeland", Moslems can seek inspiration for self-awareness only from God and Islam."[7]

Azad exhorted Moslems to strive for political liberty with a responsible parliamentary system. This was, according to him, "a religious injunction" for Moslems. He did not believe that the Moslems were dependent upon the cooperation of either the moderate or extremist Hindus for the realization of these aims. Moslems could strive for the progress and freedom of the country without causing any breach of peace or rebellion. Has not the Qur'an said "do not cause strife on earth after the establishment of peace." Azad acknowledged and appreciated the peace established by the British government which made freedom of conscience and worship possible for Moslems. Therefore he thought that "any rebellious activity, breach of peace and law would be tantamount to an offence against God."[8] This was indeed a moderate political program, not very different from that of the Moslem League. Indeed he blessed and approved the All-India Moslem League's goal of political leadership.

It is evident from Azad's writing that he made his political debut as a "Moslem nationalist." His concept of nationalism included not only the Moslems of India but all over the world. He was undoubtedly primarily concerned with the socio-political problems of the Indian Moslems, yet he considered himself a citizen of the international Islamic brotherhood which was then known as the Turkish Caliphate. He owed his allegiance to the Caliphate as a matter of religious and national obligation. When the Turkish Caliphate clashed with the British Empire during the First World War, he did not hesitate to

declare his loyalty to the former. In the support of the Turkish Caliphate, Azad's Moslem nationalism found fullest expression. He accepted help from the All-India Congress and from Gandhi, not out of any "Indian" consideration, but because it might be helpful for Moslems' nationalistic aspirations.

After the war Ataturk abolished the Turkish Caliphate. Arab nationalism, appealing to all Arabs on the basis of language and common history regardless of denominational affiliation also asserted itself. These events greatly impressed Azad and his ideas changed radically. After 1920 he ceased to be a "Moslem nationalist." He accepted the fundamental principles of Arab and Turkish nationalism and rigorously applied them to the political situation in India.

During the Caliphate Movement, Azad had quoted the Qur'an (X:60; VI:54; IV:139; III:118) to justify Hindu-Moslem cooperation. Addressing a provincial assembly of the Caliphate Movement in Agra on October 25, 1921, he referred to the Prophet Muhammad's covenant between the Moslem inhabitants of Medina and the Jews, which was negotiated after the Prophet's entrance (622 A.D.) into Medina. Its purpose was to establish a common defense against the hostile Quraysh who had persecuted the Prophet in Mecca and forced him to migrate to Medina. The preamble of the covenant stated: *Bism Allah al-rahmān al-rahīm. Hādha kitāb min Muhammad al-Nabīy bayn al-muminīn wa-almuslimīn min Quraysh wa-Yathrib wa-man tab'hum falhaq bham wa-jāhad ma'ham al-naham ummat wāhidat min dūn al-nās.*[9] "In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a document from Muhammad the Prophet [governing the relations] between the believers and Moslems of Quraysh and Yathrib [Medina], and those who followed them and joined them and labored with them. They are one community[10] (Ummat wāhidat), to the exclusion of all men."[11]

Azad's rendition of the key phrase *Ummat Wāhidat* gives it a connotation that is different from any of those which are generally accepted. He renders the translation thus: "we enter into an agreement and a truce with all the tribes inhabiting the suburbs of Medina and we together want to constitute a nation."[12] Explaining his translation, he says that *Umma* means nation, (i.e. *qom*), and *Wāhida* means one, (i.e. *ayk*).

This covenant as a historical precedent for a political situation like the Caliphate Movement might justify cooperation between the Hindus and the Moslems. However, Azad's clever translation could hardly have made it a sound basis for evolving a joint Hindu-Moslem

nation in India. Historically the Prophet's covenant failed to preserve amicable relations between the Jews of Medina and his followers. The Jews collaborated with the Quraysh of Mecca and thus began the hostilities that resulted in their expulsion from Arabia.[13]

Azad gives these events a new interpretation. He says that the Jews were expelled from Arabia by Divine Will because the land of Arabia was ordained to be the exclusive preserve of Islam, to which Moslems could flee if they were expelled from other countries of the world. However this does not mean, according to him, that the purport of the covenant of the Prophet was cancelled for the other nations of the world.[14]

With this new interpretation of Hindu-Moslem cooperation Azad's concept of the Caliphate Movement changed. Instead of condemning the Turkish leaders who had destroyed the "center of Islam" by abolishing the Caliphate he eulogized the modern Turkish nationalism "whose emphasis on patriotism has brought a new message of national life, that ought to be emulated by the East." For his revolutionary thinking in the world of Islam, he bowed his head in homage to Ataturk and congratulated him on behalf of India. Azad's interpretation of the purpose of the Caliphate Movement was reversed. Instead of addressing itself to the greater Moslem brotherhood, he believed that the function of the Caliphate Movement was to unite Hindus and Moslems in a common struggle for the liberation of India.[15]

Azad deeply felt the impact of Arab nationalism. In an address to an All-India Caliphate Conference in Cawnpur on December 29, 1925, he reviewed the political changes which had taken place in the Middle East. He deplored the end of the Hindu-Moslem rapprochement and the constant riots in India. He said that while the Middle Eastern countries were progressing rapidly politically, Indian politics had taken a reactionary turn.

The population of Syria is as heterogeneous as India's, reasoned Azad. There are Moslems, Christians of different sects and Druze tribes in Syria, who for centuries were at each others' throats. The mention of the crusades is enough to conjure up the floods of blood that once swept over the Middle East. Nevertheless all Syrians are today united for the liberation of their country and their slogan is—religion is for God and the homeland is for everyone. Comparing Syria with India, Azad remarked that "unfortunately, from the viewpoint of education and political maturity even our most advanced classes are not prepared to go that far [to the extent of accepting the implications of the Arab national slogan]. Religious bigotry, class

frictions and communal prejudices are still blocking the way of national progress."[16]

In the same speech Azad described the new characteristics of the Caliphate Committee which would now play a role in India's political life. He saw this change as a consequence of world-wide political developments from 1912 to 1929: "As far as India is concerned, the members of the Caliphate Committee [and like-minded Moslems] are distinguished from others in so far as they believe that the liberation of India is conditioned upon a joint [Hindu-Moslem] nationalism. They are not prepared to abandon this ideal, although they pay scrupulous regard to the collective interests of Moslems."[17]

It is, then, no wonder that outstanding Hindu leaders like C. Rajagopalachari think of Azad as one who "represents the keen understanding and the synthetic ideology of the Great Akbar." Rajagopalachari appreciates the liberality of Azad's beliefs but he also realizes their utter unacceptability to the average Moslem. "If ever Akbar was disappointed by his fellow *Musalmāns*, why should we be surprised if Mawlana Abul Kalam receives no response from the organized Moslems of India today."[18]

Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad's influence was considerable and he remained the idol of a certain segment of Moslems represented by the Deoband School and *Jamī'āt 'Ulamā'-i-Hind;* however, he became decidedly unpopular among many Moslems who, at the turn of the century had considered him a beacon of hope. Deeply disillusioned, they turned away from him in the forties. Jawaharlal Nehru, who knew him intimately, put the matter in a nutshell when he observed that "he [Azad] is essentially the scholar whom circumstances have forced into a life of action."[19]

Although Azad maintained a scholar's indifference to the opinions of the common men, his heart was never without feelings of concern for their well-being. While Moslems under the leadership of Jinnah passed the Pakistan Resolution in 1940, Azad in his presidential address to the All-India National Congress's Ramgarh session in the same year reiterated his pride in "being an Indian." "I am part of the indivisible unity that is the Indian nationality," he declared. "I am indispensable to this noble edifice and without me this splendid structure of India is incomplete. I am an essential element which has gone to build India. I can never surrender this claim."[20]

Azad was unjustifiably accused, by many Moslems, of hypocrisy. This was unjust because there was no dichotomy in his pronouncements and actions at any given time. He was only guilty of expecting

the Moslem nation to follow his change of heart. The pathos of the situation lies in the fact that after the 1920's he and the Moslem nation ceased to recognize each other.

Jamī'āt 'Ulamā'-i-Hind and the Deoband School. A movement of politically articulate religious leaders, *Jamī'āt 'Ulamā'-i-Hind,* was organized in 1919. From the beginning it was under the religious and political leadership of the Deoband School and Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad. The second annual session of the *Jamī'āt* was held on November 20 and 21. In addressing the session, *Shaikh-ul-Hind* Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hasan stated:

"(1) The greatest enemy of Islam and Moslems of India is the British government. Therefore non-cooperation with her is an obligation of Moslems.

"(2) If Hindus render us assistance in protecting the Moslems and the Caliphate they deserve our cooperation and gratitude.

"(3) For the liberation of India active cooperation with Hindus is permissable but it should not violate Moslems' religious rights."[21]

In order to achieve a united front, Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hasan relegated all Hindu-Moslem problems to the background. "If the three elements [Hindus, Sikhs, and Moslems] of India's population are united," he said, "the alien power in India, i.e. the British, would not be able to hold us in subjugation for too long."[22] On November 30, 1920 Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hasan died and the Deoband School came under the leadership of Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madni, his spiritual heir-apparent, and former co-prisoner during the exile in Malta.

Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madni was also impressed by modern Turkish and Arab nationalism. He went beyond the program of Hindu-Moslem collaboration as enunciated by Mawlana Mahmud-ul-Hasan. He felt that a new era had dawned in which nationalities were determined by geography, and not primarily by religion or other considerations. Moreover, deep hatred for the British intensified his wish for a joint Hindu-Moslem nationality: "The National Congress since 1885 launched its struggle for the political liberation of India on the basis of evolving an Indian nationality that was rooted in territorial nationalism because this common front would be detrimental to the British imperial interest."[23]

His nationalistic doctrine was conceived as a weapon in the anti-British struggle. "Maybe nationalism is a damned phenomenon, since it was successfully employed by Europe to uproot the Ottoman

Caliphate," he wrote, but "we Moslems ought to use the same damned instrument to undermine the British power."[24] Hatred may be an integral part of a nascent nationalism, but Mawlana Madni's "tit for tat" was misplaced and impervious to the realities of Hindu-Moslem sentiments. He became very unpopular with the Moslems. "Hardly five hundred in a gathering of ten thousand would listen to him when he propounded his theory of nationalism."[25] Nevertheless, he persisted in his views. Iqbal, who was a strong supporter of Moslem nationalism, criticized Mawlana Madni's views which he thought were contrary to the spirit of Islam. In a satire entitled "Husain Ahmad" he said:

> The Moslem World still does not understand the secrets of the religion [Islam];
> Otherwise Husain Ahmad of Deoband would not have uttered such erratic views, that the nation is determined by the land.
> His thesis betrays his unawareness of the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad.
> Try to bring yourself, body, soul and mind, closer to the Prophet, because he is the source of all religion.
> If you do not emulate Him, then
> You are groping in the darkness of pre-Islamic days.[26]

Neither Mawlana Madni nor Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad could stem the avalanche of Moslem nationalism that finally resulted in the creation of Pakistan in 1947.

Jama'āt-i-Islami. Another religio-political party that opposed the creation of Pakistan was the *Jama'āt-i-Islami* of Mawlana Saiyad Abul-'alā Maudoodi. After Pakistan came into being, the *Jama'āt* came to represent the conservative Islamic viewpoint with regard to the constitution of the state. In this role it became influential among the middle and lower classes of West Pakistan.[27]

Mawlana Maudoodi was born into an old Delhi family in Aurangabad, Deccan, in 1903. His father was a deeply religious lawyer who gave his son an old-fashioned type of education stressing Persian and Arabic. When Maudoodi was fifteen his father died. Young Maudoodi drifted into journalism. In 1933 he founded an Urdu monthly, *Tarjumān-al-Qur'an* (interpreter of the Qur'an) in Hyderabad, Deccan. Maudoodi's writings attracted the attention of Iqbal, who suggested in 1937, that Maudoodi move to a recently endowed retreat at Pathankot in the Punjab, consisting of sixty-five acres, various buildings and

a printing press. It was at Pathan-kot that the career of Mawlana Maudoodi really began.

In Maudoodi's concept of Islam there is no room for nationalism. "The ultimate goal of Islam is a world state in which the chains of racial and national prejudices would be dismantled, and all mankind incorporated in a cultural and political system with equal rights and equal opportunities for all, and in which hostile competition would give way to friendly cooperation between peoples so that they might mutually assist and contribute to the material and moral good of one another."[28] He envisaged such a world state as being constituted on the religio-political principles and the eternal truth enunciated in the Qur'an.

Maudoodi emphatically rejected Moslem participation in the Indian National Congress. In his three-volume study, *Musalmān Awr Mojūda Syasī Kashmaksh* (Moslems and the Present Political Struggle), Maudoodi delineated his religio-political creed. In the first two volumes he criticized territorial nationalism and the Indian National Congress, insisting that if Moslems accepted this type of nationalism and joined the Congress they would be assimilated into the Hindu culture.

In India, according to Maudoodi, a common nationality could be evolved by either of two processes: (a) if the culture of one nationality predominates and assimilates the cultures of the others; (b) or if a new culture is created by the fusion of diverse cultural strains.[29] The first possibility might be preferred by either Hindu or Moslem chauvinists; the second appeals to proponents of a territorial nationalism of the Congress variety. Referring to the second alternative, Maudoodi says that "everyone who has eyes can see that the people of India do not constitute a cultural nationality."[30] He defines nationalism based on common culture as "an admixture of a nation's intellectual temperament and ethical order." And he maintains that, in the absence of common sentiments, words of the same language would create totally different images and ideas in the members of the two nationalities. "The difference between these nations (Hindu, Moslem, etc.) are more deep-rooted than those found between the different cultural nationalities in Europe. Here one creed differs from another as much as the East from the West. The principles of one culture are entirely different from those of another. There are wide gulfs between the systems of morals. There is little unity between the sources of tradition. Emotions and sentiments are mutually repulsive and antagonistic. The national type of one bears hardly anything common to that of another in general appearance."[31]

For Maudoodi, the sharing of a common territory was the least important factor in the creation of a nation. "In Europe Germans, Czechs, Poles, French, Magyars, Jews, and Slavs have lived together on contiguous territories for centuries, yet they have failed to evolve a common nationality. In some places European nationalities share a common language, i.e., the British and the Irish, yet they do not form a single nationality."[82] On the basis of these views he predicted that the efforts to evolve a common Indian nationality out of economic and political expediency would be futile. After dismissing the concept of territorial nationalism Maudoodi rejected the existence of Moslem nationalism as un-Islamic[83] and opposed the creation of Pakistan because it would only jail Islam in a limited territory.

The word *huzb* (party) has been used by the Qur'an, he points out, to distinguish Moslems from others. However, Maudoodi's use of the word "party" needs to be clarified. "The Qur'an sees only two parties in the world," he says, "the party of Allah and the party of the Devil."[84] Moslems constitute the party of Allah because they have been charged by Him to fulfill the Divine Mission of making the entire world *Dar-ul-Islam.*

The Qur'an states: "You are the best Community that has been raised up for Mankind. You enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency; and you believe in Allah." (III:110) The Qur'an also says about Moslems: "Thus we have made of you an intermediate *Umma,* so that you might look after *(shuhda'ā 'ala al-nās)* mankind. And the Apostle will look after you." (II:143)[85]

Mawlana Maudoodi explains the significance of Moslems being the intermediate *umma:* "Moslems are an international party because they have been evolved out of all nations; they have a mission to perform." It is their mission, throughout the world, to be the guardians of other nations and to enforce the social order that was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad "as a leader of the party of Allah."[86]

He believes that Moslems all over the world were enjoined to intermarry and rear their children in the Islamic faith to create homogeneity in their "international party." However, each group developed instead its own nationalism, culture and historical traditions. Comments Maudoodi: "Now Moslems consider themselves a nation like the Germans, the British, or the Japanese. This is a delusion because they have lost the concept of the party membership in the fold of their nations."[87] Maudoodi also asks: "Have you ever heard of an individual "who follows the principles of capitalism, but is known as a Communist? Is it not a misnomer to describe capitalism as Com-

munism?" On the basis of his analogy Maudoodi concludes that it is wrong to think of a person as a Moslem regardless of his convictions and performance. He deplores this tendency which he thinks has its roots in Moslem nationalism. Islam aims at eliminating all racial and cultural barriers and attempts to establish in their place "a rational nationality of all believers so that a world nationality of Islam might take place."[38]

Maudoodi believes that Buddhism and Christianity spoke to all mankind, but, since they did not offer a comprehensive social philosophy, they failed to achieve a world nationality. Western scientific civilization attempts to achieve the ideal of a united world but its vitality is sapped by the incubus of nationalism. Marxism-Communism, Maudoodi believes, "wants to create a new social order on the global level. They will not succeed in their endeavors either, because in Russia, particularly under Stalin, Russian nationalism is gaining strong roots."[39]

Maudoodi warns Moslems that their civilization decayed because they fell victim to the poison of nationalism. "Moslems are a party" he declares, "and they must create a party spirit in themselves."[40] Once the Moslems of India achieved this goal they would have nothing to fear. Not only would they survive in India but, according to Maudoodi, the whole of India would become *Dar-ul-Islam* in the near future. Indeed *Jama'āt-i-Islami* was founded in Lahore on August 25, 1941 to bring this about.[41] The aim of the *Jama'āt* was not only to make Moslems conform to the principles of Islam, but to mould the collective life of all humanity on the precepts of Islam.[42]

Freeland Abbot has thus described Mawlana Maudoodi's views: "He and his followers present the most neatly packaged arguments and the most closely reasoned thinking on socio-religious subjects to be found in Pakistan today. But it is basically scholastic thought, concerned with precise definition, and with deductions made from dogma."[43]

Jama'āt-i-Islami was relatively unpopular before and immediately after 1947 because the Moslems feared its grandiose plan of expansion which they considered neither practicable nor desirable. They thought that it was an adventurous and romantic medieval concept that had lost its former magnetic appeal.[44] The average Moslems, much to the regret of Mawlana Maudoodi, were saturated with Moslem nationalism. They preferred the possibility of having a homeland of their own to the dry bones of Maudoodi's scholasticism.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Undoubtedly the most outspoken and vociferous Hindu opponent of Pakistan and Moslem nationalism, Mahatma Gandhi once described the partition of India as "the vivisection of Mother India." His views on Indian nationalities were essentially formed during the years he spent in the Union of South Africa in the early decades of the twentieth century. Among the indentured Indians he found in South Africa were three groups—Hindus, Moslems and Christians. The latter, he related in his autobiography "were the children of indentured Indians who became converts to Christianity."[45]

Gandhi did not associate with Indian Christians until he learned that the whites of South Africa were going to introduce a bill which sought to deprive the Indians of their right to elect members to the Natal Legislative Assembly. Gandhi then decided to mobilize the Indians against their disfranchisement and toward this end enlisted the support of all Indians, including the Christians. He found out that Indian Christians usually did not associate with others of Indian origin: "This opened my eyes. I felt that this class should be claimed as our own. Was this the meaning of Christianity? Did they cease to be Indians because they had become Christians?"[46]

The Boer War provided an opportunity for Gandhi to ingratiate the Indians with the South African government. He organized an ambulance corps of 1,100 Indians of diverse religious persuasions including Christians. The ambulance corps rendered useful service on the front lines and won the appreciation of the South African government. As a result of working together in hazardous conditions a feeling of solidarity developed among the Indians. "There came a greater awakening amongst them," Gandhi relates, "and the feeling that Hindus, Musalmāns, Christians, Tamilians, Gujratis and Sindhis were all Indians and children of the same motherland took deep root amongst them."[47]

Gandhi's feeling that the various groups were all children of the same motherland appears at first glance to be a statement of territorial nationalism. However, in his mind there was very little difference between the concepts of "motherland" and "Hinduism." A reader of his works gets a strong impression that he considered all non-Hindu populations as a separate caste which could be re-claimed just as he had been successful in returning the Christians in South Africa to the Indian fold.

The hierarchical division of Hindu society was a settled fact for Gandhi: "I am one of those who do not consider caste to be a harmful

institution. In its origin caste was a wholesome custom and promoted national well-being." [48] Gandhi also stated: "I call myself a *Sanatani* Hindu because [*inter alia*] I believe in *Varnashrama Dharma* [living according to caste regulations] in a sense strictly Vedic, but not in its current popular and crude sense." [49] He did not approve of the existing conditions of the Untouchables. However, Bhimrao R. Ambedkar, a contemporary of Gandhi and the foremost Untouchable leader, questioned his sincerity in advocating the emancipation of the Untouchables, since this would imply disintegration of the caste system. Ambedkar quotes Gandhi to have said "it will be a chaos if every day a Brahmin is to be changed into a *Shudra* and a *Shudra* is to be changed into a Brahmin." [50]

Gandhi regarded the rigid compartmentalization that did not even admit inter-dining as essentially inimical to Hinduism. The All-India National Congress, the citadel of secular Indian nationalism, was hardly an example of unity when Gandhi attended its annual session in 1901 at Calcutta. "Even here [at the Calcutta session] I was face to face with untouchability in a fair measure," deplores Gandhi. "The Tamilian kitchen was far away from the rest. To the Tamil delegates, even the sight of others, whilst they were dining, meant pollution. . . . To me this looked like a travesty of *Varnadharma*. If, I said to myself, there was such untouchability between the delegates of the Congress, one could well imagine the extent to which it existed amongst their constituents." [51]

It should be noted that Mahatma Gandhi combined two contrasting trends of thought. In his extraordinary tolerance and sympathy with other faiths he was singularly progressive, having risen from the parochialism of his own background. On the other hand, traditional Hinduism was decisive in shaping his ideas and actions. Charles Freer Andrews, an English missionary and a good friend of Gandhi, has remarked how the memory of Gandhi's devout Hindu mother perpetually returned to his mind, "making the fragrance of the ancient Hindu texts so sweet that nothing else in the world can compare with them, in his own imagination, in beauty and truth, and sweetness." [52]

Yet Gandhi was an ardent exponent of Hindu-Moslem unity and of one Indian nationality. At the same time he looked upon the problem of unity with the eyes of a *Sanatani* Hindu who would not tamper with the fundamentals of *Varnadharma*, which preach strict separation of caste from caste and Hindu from non-Hindu. It was due to this ambivalence in Gandhi's approach to Hindu-Moslem relations that, not-

withstanding his obvious sincerity, he could not win the confidence of the Moslems.

Gandhi believed that "every Moslem is merely a Hindu who has accepted Islam and every Moslem will have a Hindu name if he goes back far enough in his family history."[53] This was one of the Mahatma's fundamental convictions. He never submitted it to any historical scrutiny, nor tried to study the phenomenon of Moslem nationalism. With the partition of India in 1947 he finally accepted the fact of Moslem nationalism, yet his original beliefs remained steadfast. It still made no sense to him that Poles, Russians, Czechs, and Yugoslavs, being all Slavs, should have emerged as separate nations. He viewed the Moslems in the same light as he saw the Indian Christians of South Africa—as a people who should be brought back to the fold of the motherland:

"The vast majority of Moslems of India, are converts to Islam or are descendants of converts. They did not become a separate nation as soon as they became converts. A Bengali Moslem speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbors. They dress alike. I have often found it difficult to distinguish by outward sign between a Bengali Hindu and a Bengali Moslem. The same phenomenon is observable more or less in the south among the poor who constitute the masses of India. When I first met the late Sir Ali Imam I did not know that he was not a Hindu. His speech, his dress, his manners, his food were the same as that of the majority of the Hindus in whose midst I found him. His name alone betrayed him. Not even that with Quide-Azam Jinnah. For his name [i.e. Jinnah] could be that of any Hindu. When I first met him, I did not know that he was a Moslem. I came to know his religion when I had his full name given to me. His Indian nationality was written in his face and manner. The reader will be surprized to know that for days, if not for months, I used to think of the late Vithalbhai Patel as a Moslem as he used to sport a beard and a Turkish cap. The Hindu law of inheritance governs many Moslem groups. Sir Muhammad Iqbal used to speak with pride of his Brahminical descent. Iqbal and Kitchlew are names common to Hindus and Moslems. The Hindus and Moslems of India are not two nations. Those whom God has made one, man will never be able to divide."[54]

Gandhi admits that historical experience, cultural tradition, and religion have influenced the Moslems, but he says that these factors did not transform them into a separate nation: "I believe and I have noticed it too, that thought transforms man's features as well as char-

acter. The Sikhs are the most recent illustration of the fact. The Mussalman, being generally in a minority, has, as a class, developed into a bully. Moreover, being heir to fresh traditions he exhibits the virility of a comparatively new system of life. Though, in my opinion, non-violence has a predominant place in the Qur'an, the thirteen hundred years of imperialistic expansion has made the Mussalmans fighters as a body. They are therefore aggressive."[55]

Comparing the Moslems with the Hindus and their civilization, Gandhi says: "The Hindu has an ages-old civilization [therefore] he is essentially non-violent. His civilization has passed through the experiences that the two recent ones [Sikh and Moslem] are still passing.[56]

In his analysis of the impact of history and religion on Moslems, Gandhi tacitly implied the existence of a "Moslem mind" or "Moslem character". This was the most that he conceded to the Moslems; beyond that he would not go. Some of his Hindu critics suggested that by fraternizing with Moslems he was making himself unfit to know the Hindu mind. Gandhi ridiculed this suggestion: "The Hindu mind is myself. Surely I do not need to live amidst Hindus to know the Hindu mind when every fibre of my being is Hindu. My Hinduism must be a very poor thing, if it cannot flourish under influences the most adverse. I know instinctively what is necessary for Hinduism. But I must labour to discover the Mussalman mind. The closer I come to the best of Mussalmans, the juster I am likely to be in my estimate of the Mussalmans. I am striving to become the best cement between the two communities."[57]

When Gandhi was asked how he would unite the "Moslem converts" (whose mind he had to struggle so hard to understand) with the parent "stock" of Hindus and whether he would recommend inter-marriage, or at least inter-dining, the Mahatma answered in the light of the principle of *Varnadharma:* "In my opinion the idea that inter-dining or inter-marrying is necessary for national growth, is a superstition borrowed from the West. Eating is a process just as vital as the other sanitary necessities of life. And if mankind had not, much to its harm, made of eating a fetish and indulgence, we would have performed the operation of eating in private even as one performs the other necessary functions of life in private. Indeed the highest culture in Hinduism regards eating in that light and there are thousands of Hindus still living who will not eat their food in the presence of anybody."[58]

Inter-marriage, Gandhi added, is a still more difficult question. How-

ever, he saw no reason why territorial nationalism could not develop in India if Hindus and Moslems chose to live like brethren. "If brothers and sisters can live on the friendliest footing without ever thinking of marrying each other, [then] I can see no difficulty in my daughter regarding every Mohammadan as a brother and vice-versa. I hold strong views on religion and on marriage. The greater the restraint we exercise with regard to our appetites, whether about eating or marrying,[59] the better we become from a religious standpoint. I should despair of ever cultivating amicable relations with the world, if I had to recognize the right or propriety of any young man offering his hand in marriage to my daughter or to regard it as necessary for me to dine with anybody and everybody. I claim that I am living on terms of friendliness with the whole world, I have never quarrelled with a single Mohammaden or Christian, but for years I have taken nothing but fruit in Mohammedan or Christian households."[60]

Gandhi realized that partners in a Hindu-Moslem marriage could not retain their respective religions:[61] a Moslem cannot marry an "idol-worshipper," and a Hindu cannot go against *Varnadharma.* In this sense Gandhi's approach is consistent with the views of both religions. Realizing these irremovable barriers, Gandhi stated, in an article on "Inter-Dining and Inter-Marriage" published on February 25, 1920, in "Young India":

"It [Hindu-Moslem unity] consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal and common sorrows. It is best promoted by co-operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration. A common goal we have. We wish this great country of ours to be greater and self-governing.

"And today seeing that the Mohammedans are deeply touched on the question of *Khilāfat* and their case is just, nothing can be so powerful for winning Mohammedans' friendship for the Hindu as to give his whole-hearted support to the Mohammedan claim. No amount of drinking out of the same cup or dining out of the same bowl can bind the two as this help in the *Khilāfat* question."[62]

The question of what would have been the common goal and common sorrows in a united India when freedom had been achieved remained beyond Gandhi's vision. This was in fact the major defect in his plan for Hindu-Moslem unity. He believed that Hindu-Moslem discord would disappear from India as soon as the British government would withdraw. "As for communal unity," declared Gandhi in the *Harijan* of June 7, 1942, "the third party being removed, unity will

follow as day follows night. Unity will not precede but will succeed freedom."[63]

Gandhi believed that after independence the Moslem League would be able to protect the Moslems' rights by negotiations or by demanding partition. Moslems considered this approach a trap to hoodwink them into the Hindu *raj*. Under Jinnah's leadership they wanted to secure their political rights in a tripartite settlement between the Hindus, Moslems and the British. Gandhi, however, accused Jinnah of allowing the British to use him "as a cloak for denying freedom to India."[64] Such accusations roused the resentment of the Moslems. In March, 1940, when the Moslems passed the Pakistan resolution, Gandhi realized that he had lost the confidence he had enjoyed during the Caliphate period. Writing an editorial in *Harijan* on March 30, 1940 Gandhi admitted sorrowfully that "today I have forfeited that confidence and most of the Urdu press pours abuse on me. But I am not sorry for it. It only confirms me in my belief that there is no *Swaraj* [freedom] without a settlement with the Mussalmans."[65]

The Hindu-Moslem settlement was finally achieved on August 14, 1947, when India was partitioned. Gandhi, like other great men, had his weaknesses and shibboleths. The belief that Moslems were essentially Hindus, and as such had no claim to being a nation colored his judgment and perception to such an extent that the phenomenon of Pakistani nationalism as a dynamic force completely escaped him. The fallacy of Gandhi's basic contention that inter-dining and intermarriage were not necessary for the formation of a joint Hindu-Moslem nationality is illustrated by the following case study.

Cultural Marginality in Rajputana. At the beginning of this century a social change occurred in the district of Marwara in Rajputana. Those Hindu members of the Marwara clan who up to 1903 had intermarried and inter-dined with the Moslem Merat Katatas[66] decided in 1906 to abandon this practice because it was contrary to Hinduism.

As far back as 1875 Sir James LaTouche in his *Gazetter of Ajmer-Merwara* recorded a tendency of the Merats to assimilate with orthodox Moslem society, while the Rawats were inclined to adopt the rules of Hinduism as practiced by the Rajputs of surrounding native states. For some twenty-five years these tendencies appeared to be more or less dormant But later a series of events occurred which upset the existing social codes of the clans. Those who enlisted in the regiments of the British Indian army found themselves in an anomalous marginal position somewhere between Hindus and Mos-

lems. In the segregated army kitchens and the social life of orthodox Hindu and Moslem soldiers the Merats and the Rawats were made to feel that they were really neither "fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring," although they professed Islam or Hinduism.[67]

The issues dividing the Merats and the Rawats were sharp. The Rawats condemned the matrimonial practices and beef-eating propensities of the Merats and alleged that the extent to which these practices had increased was the cause of the dispute. The Merats, on the other hand, denied the foregoing contention and said that the Rawats have brought about the dispute by wanting to be considered "superior Rajputs."

Relations between the Rawats and the Merats came to a breaking point in 1900, when in one of the regiments questions arose regarding the customs of the two clans. In the regiments the Merats were allowed to eat and smoke with orthodox Moslems. The Rawats, who claimed to be Hindus, interdined with the Merats, but were excluded by orthodox Hindus and Moslems alike. While the Merats succeeded in getting themselves recognized as Moslems to an appreciable extent, the Rawats were recognized neither by the Moslems nor the Hindus.[68]

While the minds of the Rawats and the Merats were agitated, the regiment was transferred to Allahabad. The Rawats were now in Prayag (the twin city of Allahabad), a holy place of the Hindus, where Brahmanical influences were strong. On the other hand, the Merats came under the influence of local Moslem mawlavis and mullas. Thus the breach, which army life had originated, widened. On April 18, 1902 a meeting of 250 Rawats took place in the Srinagar Police Circle in the Ajmer district. They decided not to give their daughters in marriage to the Chitas (of whom the Merats were a sub-division) since they were Moslems.

In May, 1902 a detachment from the 44th Merwara Infantry, then the Merwara Battalion, consisting of Merats and Rawats, went to England as part of the coronation contingent. The journey to and from and the sojourn in England further accentuated the difference. The Rawats called themselves "Rajputs" but were twitted by orthodox Hindus from other regiments. Furthermore they used to eat with the Merats. Again orthodox Hindus wanted to know how Rajputs could eat with professed Moslems. The Rawats realized more strongly than before that while the Merats had some customs which conformed to those of the Moslems, few of their own, if any, conformed to the Hindu social code. It became necessary for the Rawats to take steps to get themselves accepted by Hindu society.

In August, 1902, the coronation contingent returned to India. In May, 1903, the Rawats held a large meeting at Dadalia in the Todgarh Police Circle in Merwara, presided over by a *Jogi* (Hindu priest) of Saran in Merwara. Letters were circulated at the conference requesting the Rawats to have their wives and daughters dress in Rajput fashion. It was decided to stop all social intercourse with the Merats.

Some influential Merats on both sides tried to bring about a reconciliation between the two clans. They discussed the question at a meeting held at Tajaji Fair, at Beawar in September 1903. Each side imposed certain conditions. The Rawats insisted that the Merats should cease intermarrying among themselves, cease giving their daughters in marriage to Moslems, cease eating beef, or the flesh of buffaloes, cease giving or sharing their pipes with Moslem *fakirs* (saints), and should cremate at death a Rawat woman married to a Merat (previously all of them were buried according to Moslem rites). The Merats, on their part, required the Rawats to cease eating pigs and cease eating animals killed by violence—i.e. otherwise than *hallaled* (killed according to Moslem rites).[69] Neither clan was willing to abandon its position. Gradually they drifted apart since they could find social status only within the fold of either Moslem or Hindu society. With the lapse of time they became strangers to each other.

Marginal clans like the Merats or the Rawats might have constituted a bridge between the Hindus and the Moslems. They could have helped to synthesize a culture that could be described as typically Indian: neither quite Hindu nor Moslem. But this did not develop in the Indian sub-continent. In the light of the Merat-Rawat case one is likely to question the assertion of Gandhi that inter-marriage and inter-dining are not necessary for the creation of an "Indian nationality." This case study substantiates the statement of Professor Otto Frederick Hertz that "a genuine national community" is difficult to develop among people "who are barred from mating or social intercourse."[70]

Jawaharlal Nehru. Throughout most of his career Nehru has viewed the Indian panorama, both distant and present, with the eyes of a Marxist who likes to describe himself as a Socialist. In discussing the Marxist interpretation of history, he states that "Russia apart, the theory and philosophy of Marxism lightened so many a dark corner of my mind. History came to have a new meaning for me. The Marxist interpretation threw a flood of light on it, and it became an

unfolding drama with some order and purpose, however unconscious, behind it. . . . It was the essential freedom from dogma, and the scientific outlook of Marxism that appealed to me."[71]

It would have been fortunate if Marxism could have freed so great a mind as Nehru's from the shackles of dogma, but it only stimulated him to develop dogmas of his own, tinged by his own idiosyncratic views of Indian history. He regarded them as sacrosanct; no amount of reasoning could modify his rigid premises. Like a true Marxist, Nehru developed an antipathy toward religion. "The spectacle of what is called religion, in India and elsewhere had filled me with horror, and I have frequently condemned it and wished to make a clean sweep of it. Almost always it seems to stand for blind belief and reaction, dogma and bigotry, superstition and exploitation, and the preservation of vested interests. . . . But organized religion, whatever its past may have been, today is very largely an empty form devoid of real content."[72]

Nehru viewed the Hindu-Moslem clash primarily in terms of economics. All political organizations which appealed exclusively to either Hindus or Moslems appeared to him as reactionary. He thought that their points of view were unscientific and unworthy of serious examination. In particular Moslem organizations seemed to him citadels of reaction. "Moslem communal organizations are notoriously reactionary from every point of view—political, economic and social."[73]

Throughout his negotiations in 1938 with Jinnah on Hindu-Moslem problems Nehru showed a contempt for Moslem insistence on cultural and constitutional safeguards because Jinnah overlooked "the all-important questions of poverty and unemployment."[74] While Jinnah was still negotiating with the Congress for a political *modus vivendi* between Hindus and Moslems, Iqbal had already realized the far-reaching impact of Nehru's socialism on Moslem national existence. He foresaw that Nehru's views would deal a mortal blow to the cultural identity of the Moslems. Nehru, criticising one of the articles of Iqbal, categorically stated in his article *A Reply to Sir Mohammad Iqbal* that there was absolutely no racial or cultural difference between the Hindu and Moslem masses.[75]

It is an irony of history that Nehru and other responsible Hindu leaders failed to understand that the Moslem mind was saturated with nationalistic fervor. Nehru should have noted that even Marxism recognized the right of self-determination for all nationalities. The London International Congress of 1896 expressly declared "that it upholds the right of self-determination of all nations and expresses its

sympathy for the workers of every country. . . ."[76] Lenin, an internationalist, also "recognized not only complete equality of rights for all nations in general, but also equality of rights as regards statehood, i.e. the right of nations to self-determination, to secession."[77]

However, since nationalities may enjoy the right of self-determination only if their existence is acknowledged Nehru refuses to admit the cultural identity of the Moslems which might have qualified them in his eyes for national self-determination.[78] "Politically," says Nehru, "the idea [of a Moslem nation and Moslem culture] is absurd, economically it is fantastic; it is hardly worth considering."[79] Nevertheless he pursues the "phantom" of Moslem culture and in utter exasperation asks what it is. Then he proceeds to ridicule some of the outward differences in the dress and mannerism of Moslems:

"I find a tiny handful of middle-class Moslems as well as Hindus in north India influenced by the Persian language and traditions. And looking to the masses the most obvious symbols of Moslem culture seem to be: a particular type of pyjamas, not too long and not too short, a particular way of shaving or clipping the moustache but allowing the beard to grow, and a *lota* [deep water bowl] with a special kind of snout, just as the corresponding Hindu customs are the wearing of *dhoti*, the possession of a topknot, and a *lota* of a different kind. As a matter of fact, even these distinctions are largely urban and they tend to disappear. The Moslem peasantry and industrial workers are hardly distinguishable from the Hindu."[80]

Such is the picture of Moslem culture in the mind of Nehru. He insisted that "this idea of a Moslem nation is a figment of a few imaginations only, and even if many people believed in it, it would still vanish at the touch of reality."[81]

While denying the existence of a Moslem nationality Nehru believed that the concept of national cultures was outmoded and that the world was becoming one cultural unit. He admitted that nations would retain for a long time much that was peculiar to them—language, habits, ways of thought, etc.—but he thought the machine age would make them more and more uniform. "The real struggle today in India is not between Hindu culture and Moslem culture but between these two and the conquering scientific culture of modern civilization."[82] He thought that this modern scientific culture would eventually eliminate Hindu and Moslem cultural distinctions. He also believed that three thousand years of Indian history, in spite of the diversity of India, has created an essential Indian unity. This belief in the unity of Indian culture created by a synthesis of diverse races

and cultures is essentially metaphysical. "Some kind of a dream of unity has occupied the mind of India since the dawn of civilization. That unity was not conceived as something imposed from outside, a standardization of externals or even of beliefs. It was something deeper, and within its fold the widest tolerance of belief and custom was practiced and every variety acknowledged and even encouraged."[83]

Nehru believes that Islam and its adherents, who are very young measured on the scale of human civilization, created no more than a slight ripple in the deep sea of Indian culture. Even those who believed in a religion of non-Indian origin like the Christians, Jews, Parsees and Moslems, became distinctly Indian in the course of a few generations. Indian converts to some of these religions never ceased to be Indians in spite of the change of faith. Nehru sees not nationalities but only a few minorities in India. "Minorities in India," he declared, "are not racial or national minorities as in Europe: they are religious minorities."[84]

Nevertheless he is aware of the Hindu-Moslem political conflict which has its roots in the early days of Moslem conquests, but he interprets this phenomenon in a new way describing Moslem nationalism as narrow communalism. "In political matters religion has been displaced by what is called communalism, a narrow group mentality basing itself on a religious community but in reality concerned with political power and patronage for the group concerned."[85]

Nehru concedes only the existence among Moslems of a "narrow communal mentality" for which he blames the *divide et empera* policy of the British and the pro-British and anti-nationalistic views of Saiyad Ahmad Khan. Iqbal, whom Nehru compliments for his early "Indian" poetry, is criticized for his later poetry which provided "a philosophic background to the Moslem intelligentsia and thus diverted its mind in a separatist direction."[86]

According to Nehru, the introduction of separate electorates for Moslems was of vital significance for the fate of India. "A political barrier was created around them, isolating them from the rest of India and reversing the unifying and amalgamating process which had been going on for centuries and which was inevitably being speeded up by technological developments."[87]

The important question is whether or not a process of amalgamation between Hindus and Moslems has been in operation since the Arab invasion of India under Muhammad Ibn al-Qasim. However, historical events as described in the previous chapters certainly do not confirm Nehru's theory. Let us examine it in the light of his own historical

studies. Nehru has dealt with different Moslem dynasties in the periods of the Delhi Sultanate and the Moghul Empire noting different socio-political movements which influenced the minds of Moslems and Hindus.

Nehru considers the Delhi sultans and the early Moslems as having become "Indianized." This term, however, is not explained. In Nehru's view the signs of a mixed culture began to appear early. They constituted the foundation on which Akbar was to build. In Akbar, according to Nehru, the "old dream of a united India" again took shape "united not only politically in one state, but organically fused into one people." Referring to Akbar's marriages with Hindu princesses he points out that his son and successor Jahangir was half Moghul and half Rajput Hindu. Jahangir's son Shah Jahan was also the son of a Rajput mother; "thus racially this Turko-Mongol dynasty" declares Nehru, "became far more Indian than Turk or Mongol."[88] Nehru approves of Akbar's efforts toward a "new synthetic faith to suit everybody" and believes that in his reign the cultural amalgamation of Hindus and Moslems in north India was considerably advanced. Akbar, according to Nehru, was popular with both Hindus and Moslems.[89]

Nehru thinks that the Moghul rulers were strong as long as they identified themselves with the genius of the nation and tried to work for a common nationality. When Aurangzeb began to suppress this movement and to behave more like a Moslem than an Indian ruler, the Moghul empire began to break up.[90] The movements which challenged the empire represented, in Nehru's eyes "resurgent nationalism." Although they were not strong enough to build permanently, they were capable of destroying the empire of the Moghuls.

Among the anti-Moslem movements Nehru singles out the Maratha revolt against Emperor Aurangzeb. He considers the emperor, who is still venerated by the Moslems, as "a throw-back, and for all his ability and earnestness, he tried to undo what his predecessors had done."[91] Nehru further believes that his policies offended the Rajputs and roused the Sikhs who, by persecution, were turned "into a military brotherhood." Near the west coast of India Aurangzeb awoke the slumbering national sentiments of the Marathas. Nehru admits that Aurangzeb's policies were responsible, among the Hindus, for "the growth of a revivalist sentiment which was a mixture of religion and nationalism." Against this background of political strife and religious ferment, according to him, "Shivaji was the symbol of a resurgent

Hindu nationalism, drawing inspiration from the old [Hindu] classics."[92]

This historical analysis is essentially correct. This author has already dealt with the problem in the third chapter, pointing out the emergence of three self-conscious and distinct nationalities, the Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs at the termination of Aurangzeb's long reign of almost fifty years. Nehru concedes the emergence of Hindu nationalism spearheaded by the Marathas as a reaction to Aurangzeb's policies but fails to admit the development of a corresponding sentiment among the Moslems and the Sikhs. He does not probe deeply into this problem; instead he evades it by shifting to the economic plane.

Nehru's views often seem vague and his analysis at certain points a contradiction in terms. Nehru defines national consciousness as "a sense of belonging together and of together facing the rest of mankind." To what extent was this sentiment developed in unpartitioned India? Nehru gives the following answer. "It may be said that India developed in the past a multinational state and gradually acquired a national consciousness." But during which period did this happen? Was it the period of the Delhi Sultanate? The answer is obviously no. Was it the Moghul period? In regard to this period Nehru has given his own verdict. It seems that Nehru was conscious of the inherent weakness of his interpretation because he dismisses the discussion with a lofty nonchalance by saying "but these are theoretical abstractions which hardly concern us. Today the most powerful states are multi-national, but at the same time developing a national consciousness, like the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R."[93] Nehru's opposition to Pakistan was also based on practical considerations. Uppermost in his mind is the fear that "in giving freedom to separate to one group, other groups, though in a minority, are denied that freedom." He also notes that the partition of India would leave mineral resources and industrial areas within Hindu India, which would be an economic hardship for Moslem Pakistan. Therefore the establishment of Pakistan would not alleviate the economic backwardness of the Moslems.

Another outstanding consideration in Nehru's mind was the defense of the sub-continent, which in a modern world means dependence on industry. The Pakistani areas would be isolated from the industrial regions of India. Moreover, he felt that internal tariff barriers between the partitioned countries would be obstacles to growth. Air transportation, for instance, could only develop in an undivided India. He enumerated several other practical problems which partition would

create. Though true to a large extent, they were merely rationalizations of his opposition to the "two nation" theory of Moslems.

At best Nehru envisaged a properly constituted, functioning free India before secession could be considered. He thought that a ten-year period of a united India should be agreed upon, at the end of which the right to secede might be exercised through proper constitutional means. In his mind the image of a united India was firmly fixed. "It was a federation of free units intimately connected with her neighbors and playing an important part in world affairs."[94] It was indeed painful for him to abandon this bright picture of a united India. He believed that the Pakistani sentiment was artificially contrived and without roots in the Moslem mind. He predicted in 1944 that if the Pakistan issue was ever put to a vote, "large numbers of them [Moslems] possibly even a majority, would vote against it."[95]

The election of January 1946, must have been a rude shock to Jawaharlal Nehru because, on the issue of Pakistan, the Moslem League "both at the center and in the provinces captured quite 75 percent of the Moslem votes."[96] Realizing finally the depth of Pakistani sentiment, he voted, only a year and a half later, along with his colleagues in the All-India National Congress, for the creation of Pakistan.

Chapter X

EPILOGUE

Although competent scholars have endeavored to define nationalism, no definition seems to command universal acceptance. Professor Carlton Hayes, who has devoted considerable research to the phenomenon of nationalism says "what has given great vogue to nationalism? We really do not know."[1] Since there seems to be so little agreement on what constitutes nationalism or the socio-political factors that create a nation, it would be presumptuous on the part of this author to claim that he has outlined a definitive concept of nationalism and applied it to the case of Moslems in India and Pakistan.

The author is well aware of the charges levelled against Pakistani nationalism. As reported earlier, statesmen like Jawaharlal Nehru describe Pakistani nationalism as an artificially contrived sentiment. This presupposes a general agreement on what constitutes a genuine sentiment of nationalism. The author proposes to analyze Pakistani nationalism in the light of the classical European theory of nationalism, also taking into consideration the writings of modern western scholars.

There is a widespread feeling that Pakistan's claim to nationhood is spurious. A competent scholar like Professor Rupert Emerson, in discussing the phenomenon of nationalism in Asian and African countries, remarks that Pakistan came into "being virtually overnight through its own assertion (or that of a small number of leaders) and that a nation existed which had not been there yesterday morning. By the accepted criteria of nationhood it was obvious that there was in fact no such thing as a Pakistani nation: three or four decades ago even the present Pakistanis or their immediate predecessors did not conceive themselves as a nation except occasionally perhaps. . . . The case of Pakistan came close to sustaining the theory that a nation is whatever can get away with establishing its claim to being one. . . ."[2]

It would be interesting to ask what the accepted criteria of nationhood are. Professor Emerson, like Ernest Renan, emphasizes a rich heritage of memories, the desire to live together, and a sense of a common destiny.[3] Other factors—such as race, language, interest, religious affinity, and geography—usually regarded as prerequisites

for the creation of a nationality, are considered secondary by Renan and Professor Emerson. Let us evaluate Pakistani nationalism by the criteria accepted by these two eminent scholars.

It is true that the people who now comprise India and Pakistan have lived together for the last twelve hundred years. However, it was not by mutual consent nor do they share memories of a common heritage. On the contrary, as has been indicated, Hindus and Moslems have different traditions and historical backgrounds. Both have independent histories of which each is proud. When their histories began to overlap in India, each nation interpreted the events and movements through its own glasses. This is a process which has continued down to the present day. Each nation has its own heroes who are honored. More often than not the heroes of one are the foes of the other.

The Moslems came as rulers to India in the first decade of the eighth century. Their rule was supreme and effective until the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. From 1707 to 1857 Moslem rule declined until they joined the Hindus in common subjection to British rule. The Hindus did not accept Moslem rule as Indian rule as has been alleged by Nehru. Hindus under Moslem rule enjoyed only the status of a subject nationality, that of *dhimmis.* According to the principles of Islamic jurisprudence *dhimmis* enjoy considerable privilege, but are never treated as equal citizens. Akbar, the Great Moghul, undoubtedly tried to Indianize Moslem rule but the experiment foundered on the opposition of the Moslem nobility and certain socio-religious reformers like Mujaddid Alf Thani. Aurangzeb, who won the throne of Delhi after eliminating his rival brothers, was wedded to the policy of *status quo ante* in regard to the Hindus. His policies undoubtedly aroused national feelings in the Hindus and the Sikhs who had become conscious of their nationalities by the time the iron-willed emperor passed away.

Actually there is a great deal of similarity between the Napoleonic wars in Europe and Aurangzeb's fifty-year war against the Sikhs and Rajputs in northern India and against the Marathas in the south. Just as the ultimate aim of the Napoleonic system was the subversion of national feelings of the conquered peoples' similarly Aurangzeb wanted to maintain a perpetual balance of power in favor of *Dar-ul-Islam* in India. Actually *jizya* symbolized the inferior status of the Hindus which provoked Shivaji to lead the Hindu nationalist revolt, as can be gathered from the following excerpts of a letter which he wrote to Emperor Aurangzeb. Shivaji's letter, written in 1679, is

sarcastic and bitter about the emperor's decision to re-impose *jizya* on the Hindus.

"May it please your Majesty,—that architect of the edifice of Empire, the Emperor Akbar, reigned in full power for fifty-two years; he adopted the fair policy of perfect peace [*Sulh-i-Kul*] with all the diverse sects . . . ; so he became famous under the title of "the world's preceptor," [*jagat-guru*]. Then his Majesty the Emperor Nur-ud-Din Jahangir for twenty-two years spread his gracious shadow on the head of the world and its people . . . Next, the Emperor Shah Jahan for thirty-two years cast his blessed shadow . . . The splendour and power of these emperors can be easily guessed from the fact that the Emperor Alamgir fails in merely following their system. They too had the power of levying *jizya*, but they did not admit bigotry into their hearts. . . . Therefore, their wealth and fortune continued to increase. . . .

"But in your Majesty's reign many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession, and the rest will soon do so, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. . . . When poverty and beggary have made their homes in the palaces of the Emperor and the Princes, the conditions of the amirs and mansabdars [nobles and officers] can be easily guessed. It is a reign in which the army is in tumult, the merchants complain, the Moslems cry, the Hindus are being grilled. . . . How can royal generosity permit you to add the hardships of *jizya* to this grevious state of things? It will be proclaimed from east to west and recorded in history that the Emperor of India, envying the bowl of beggars, takes *jizya* from Brahmans, Jain monks, Yogis, *Sanyasis, Bairagis,* paupers, beggars, ruined wretches, and the famished. . . .

"Well! your Majesty! if you believe in the true Heavenly Book and word of God [i.e. the Qur'an], you will find there *Rabb-ul-alamīn* [God of all men], and not *Rabb-ul-Musalmīn* [God of Moslems only]. Verily Islam and Hinduism are contrasted terms (*lafz-i-muqabil*), used by the divine painter to blend his colours and produce harmony [of effect through variety]. . . . To show bigotry to the creed and practice of any one is like altering a word in the Holy Book; to draw lines on a picture is to find fault with the Painter. . . . Not to speak of justice, this imposition of *jizya* is an innovation in India and unsuitable."[5]

Shivaji's assertion that *jizya* was something new is not true. From Muhammad Ibn al-Qasim to the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, only Akbar abolished *jizya*. Although his son and grandson, as pointed out by Shivaji's letter, followed his example in regard to *jizya* they re-

imposed all the other restrictions and liabilities that a *dhimmi* suffered in medieval India. *Jizya* was not merely a tax, and indeed a relatively light one. It was a symbol of inferior status and the Hindus were no longer prepared to live the life of second class citizens in their own homeland.

Actually, Shivaji's protest against *jizya* was very similar in motive to Gandhi's program of protest against the British government's imposition of a salt tax in India. By manufacturing salt in a ludicrously small quantity Gandhi would not have destroyed the fiscal system of colonial India. But his act symbolized the revolt of India. Similarly Shivaji served an ultimatum on the emperor that the Hindus would no longer pay *jizya* to the state exchequer because it symbolized their inferior status. Nehru and other students of Indian history have described Shivaji's revolt as religious nationalism inspired by Hindu *dharma*. Professor Hertz significantly remarks that "the real motive behind many struggles which are commonly regarded as religious was nascent national sentiment, striving for expression in national personality."[6]

The pattern of relations between Hindus and Moslems since the early days of Moslem rule in India was essentially that of conflict. Al-Beruni's description of the Hindu-Moslem conflict in the twelfth century could be validly applied to later centuries, especially the eighteenth and nineteenth. Shivaji's revolt was only a logical culmination of that eternal conflict. His descendants occupied Delhi in 1832 and the Sikh rule was established in the Punjab and the northwestern frontier areas in 1800. From then on Moslems played the role of the underdog. Ahmad Shah Abdali's campaigns, at the invitation of Najīb-ud-Daulah and Shah Walīullāh, were directed against the Maratha hegemony. Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd's nationalist movement spent its force trying to oust the Sikhs from the Punjab. If the British had not appeared on the political horizon of India, Hindus, Sikhs and Moslems would probably have partitioned the sub-continent among themselves. It is tempting to theorize that this might have resulted in the creation of something like Pakistan.

The British conquest of India would have been much more difficult without the internal conflict between the Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs. This conflict became the handmaiden of British imperial policy. If the "divide and rule" strategy had been unknown to empire builders in the past, eighteenth century India would have been a likely place for its invention. The British did not originate the Hindu-Moslem conflict; dividing lines between the Hindu, Sikh[7] and Moslem national-

ities in India were already there. However, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and other Congress leaders attributed the conflict to the system of separate electorates and of weighted representation of minorities in the constitutional reforms of British India. Nehru believed that this system isolated the Moslems from the main stream of bourgeois nationalism as represented by the National Congress. These assertions imply that the British government was under some sort of moral obligation to unite the Moslems and Hindus in India. The truth is that the separate electorates were the legal acknowledgment of the prior existence of a Moslem nationality.

Ernest Renan remarks that the essence of a nation is not only that its individual members should have many things in common, but also "all of them should hold many things in oblivion."[8] The Hindu-Moslem conflict which endured since the appearance of Moslems on the Indian scene, was never forgotten by either side. The Moslems always remembered their thousand years of rule in India and the heroes connected with this rule. The Hindus did not forget this period either. In the beginning of the twentieth century Bal Ganga-Dhar Tilak founded the cult of Shivaji in India, earning for his revivalistic activities the title of *Lokmanya,* the beloved. Tilak was a prominent Congress leader and a staunch foe of the British. His revivalistic activities had an altogether different impact on Hindus and Moslems. Actually it was in the days of the "Shivaji festivals" initiated by Tilak, that the Moslems demanded separate electorates to safeguard their future. In this situation perhaps Tilak's movement achieved more than the "divide and rule" policy could have achieved on neutral ground. The basic cultural divisions already existing between the two nationalities were maintained by the British policy. In the process of setting up a British administration marginal groups were definitely identified as belonging to either the Hindu or Moslem community. The rules of the British Indian army particularly furthered this development. This has been illustrated by the case study of cultural marginality in Rajputana, discussed in the last chapter.

The British rule not only eliminated the marginal people it also helped to solidify the internal cohesion of each nationality. For a long time the Moslems' solidarity was plagued by their diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Especially in the post-Aurangzeb period the division of the Moslem elite into Indian-born and foreign-born played havoc with the Moslem political hold over India. The 1857 wars against British colonial rule and the subsequent British preference for Hindus at the expense of Moslems eliminated such distinctions among

them. They ceased describing themselves as Arabs, Turks, Pathans, Persians or even Hindustānīs. They were all Moslems, a generic term applicable to all—to which no ethnic group could take exception. Henceforward, their politics and future destiny was discussed in terms of Islam: how it could be protected from danger and what future it had in India. Islam assumed new connotations. It not only referred to a system of belief but stood as a symbolic expression of the total cultural, religious and historical experience of the Moslems of India.

Islam was also used as a label to describe the Moslems' aspirations and to indicate their separate future destiny. When Moslems described themselves as followers of Islam, it did not mean that they were more pious or more religious than others; after all, Gandhi and Abul Kalam Azad were more religious than secular Jinnah. It simply implied that they were a distinct and separate cultural and political entity. Until the name Pakistan was invented in 1933 "Moslem" was the name of a nation. For instance, four years before the name Pakistan gained a welcome reception in the hearts of Moslems, F. K. Khan Durrani, a Moslem nationalist, wrote a book entitled *The Future of Islam in India*, to show that the Hindus and Moslems were two nations separate and distinct from each other, that Hindu-Moslem unity within India was impossible, and that the rational and safe goal for Moslems was the re-conquest of India, the whole of India, for Islam.[9]

Significantly, when the same author wrote another book in 1946 to urgently recommend the third objective,[10] he named his nationalistic testament *The Meaning of Pakistan*. Even the founder of the Pakistan National Movement, C. Rahmat Ali, used the term "Millat of Islam" to connote the Pakistani nationality in India. Therefore, when critics of Pakistani nationalism say that "the origin of Pakistan as a state founded on religion is beyond question,"[11] they misunderstand the use of the term "Islam." This is not to stay that "Islam as a religion" has played an insignificant role in the creation of Pakistani nationalism. All Moslem writers and statesmen talked politics in terms of religion, but their eyes were fixed on the secular affairs of Moslems. Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd's wars against the Sikhs and his followers' wars against the British, though religiously inspired like Shivaji's, were aimed at creating a state for Moslems. Shahīd's mentor, Shah Walīullāh, was a religious man, but was mainly concerned with the secular affairs of Indian Moslems. Iqbal, though known as a poet of Islam, was undoubtedly a strong Moslem nationalist.

Throughout its history Moslem nationalism in India has been obscured by its religious terminology. However, when the name Pakistan

was coined the secular national ambitions of the Moslems were clearly set forth and it became evident that the actual aim of the Moslems in India was a political state of their own.

Regarding the national problems of India the big question is: was a *modus vivendi* between Hindus and Moslems in one state at all possible in the light of the preceeding twelve hundred years of history? The Moslem answer has been emphatically in the negative. Hindu scholars and political leaders are somewhat ambivalent in this regard. Most Hindu leaders, including Nehru and Gandhi believed that the "melting pot" of India had "Indianized" the Moslems. Just as pre-Moslem invaders of India, i.e., Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Kushans, and White Huns had been assimilated into the Hindu social order, they believed that Moslems had also lost the cultural distinctions which might have entitled them to a separate nationhood. It is true that throughout Indian history a four-stage process is generally evident: foreign races invaded; they became amalgamated with the native Indian population; the foreign and indigenous cultures were synthesized; and the invaders eventually disappeared as a separate entity. Disinterested historians, including H. G. Rawlinson, have generally maintained that the Moslems remained an exception to this rule,[12] a contention which Hindu leaders have always contemptuously dismissed, either out of genuine conviction or somewhat colored by practical considerations.

Sixteen years after the advent of Pakistan passions aroused by the tragic events of partition seem to have simmered down. Among the intellectuals and sober historians of India there has been a marked tendency to re-appraise the causes of the partition. Leading Indian historians, including K. M. Munshi, R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, under the auspices of *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,* have recently completed the first six volumes of a ten-volume history of the Indian culture and people. Discussing the Moslem period they state that "unlike the previous invaders, the Moslems did not merge themselves with the Hindus, and thus for the first time the population of India was divided into two separate units with marked distinctions. This was the historic beginning of the Hindu-Moslem problem that led after more than six hundred years to the creation of Pakistan."[13]

Nevertheless most Indians and their leaders have not grasped the significance of the Hindu-Moslem encounter in Indian history. Time, however, is already modifying this situation. In the context of present

day ideological struggles and new political dangers from without, the Pakistan-India conflict assumes new dimensions. The leaders of India and Pakistan have the obligation to protect the liberties and cultural heritages of their respective nations. They can protect them only if they learn to cooperate and compromise with each other.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

1. al-Iman abu-l 'Abbas Ahmad ibn-Jabir al-Baladhuri, "Futu'hu-l-Buldan", Sir H. M. Elliot and John Dawson, *History of Indian As Told By Its Own Historians* (London: Trubner & Co., 1871), Vol. I. pp. 116-117; hereafter it will be referred to as E & D, with the appropriate volume number. Cf. R. S. Majumdar, *An Advanced History of India* (London: Macmillan, 1946), p. 181.

2. Phillip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan, 1956), p. 145.

3. Ra'is Ahmad Jaffri, *Tarikh-i-Islam* (Karachi: Urdu Manzil, 1953), p. 568.

4. Earlier in 44 A.H. (664 A.D.), under the direction of Caliph Mu'awiyah, Muhallab, son of Abu Sufra, had conducted a campaign in Makran and "advanced as far as Banna and Alahwar (Lahore) which lie between Multan and Kabul." al-Biladhuri, "Futu'hu-l Buldan," E & D, Vol. I., p. 116.

5. Muhammad Ali bin Hamid bin Bakr Kufi, *Chach-Nama*, Trans. Mirza Kalichberg Fredunbeg (Karachi: Commissioner's Press, 1900), p. 70; Cf. E & D, Vol. I, p. 156 ff; al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh Al-Buldan*, Trans. Francis Clark Murgotten (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), Part II, p. 126.

6. We do not intend to give a detailed account of the military history of Sindh. A few chosen incidents throw light on the changing socio-political patterns of the people of Sindh as the result of their contact with the Arabs, who not only brought a different technique of warfare, but introduced an altogether different system of belief and way of life.

7. E & D, Vol. I, p. 173; al-Kufi, *Chach-Nama*, p. 154.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 157; E & D, Vol. I, p. 175.

9. Any territory whose inhabitants observe Moslem law, and where Moslem law is the supreme law of the land is considered to be *Dar-ul-Islam*. Moslem jurist-theologians differ with regard to the necessary extent of these two conditions.

10. E & D, Vol. I, pp. 183-184.

11. al-Kufi, *op. cit.*, p. 187; E & D, Vol. I, p. 202.

12. al-Kufi, *Chach-Nama*, pp. 165, 168.

13. E & D, Vol. I, p. 182.

14. al-Kufi, *Chach-Nama*, p. 169; E & D, Vol. I, p. 186.

15. al-Kufi, *Chach-Nama*, p. 169.

16. Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 170, 223, 352-3.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 143; *Qur'an*, Surs: 9:29; 2:99; 103; 3:62-65.

18. The Qur'an entitles idol-worshippers to no consideration. Surs 4:116; 20; 21:98-100; 66:9; cf. William Muir, *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline and Fall* (Edinburg: John Grant, 1915), pp. 354-5. It should be noted, however, that before the conquest of Sindh the term "*Ahl al-Kitab* had come to include the Zoroastrians (*Majus*), the heathen of Haran and the pagan Berbers." Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 233. In subsequent ages, it seems, the juridical distinction between the Ahl *al-Kitab* (meaning the Jews and Christians) and all other "non-believers" ceased to exist. Abu-Hanifah opined that all non-Moslems "would be considered

as one category," ash-Shaibaniy, *al-Asl*, II, 141-2, MSS Nos. 741-46 in Wafa-Atif, Istanbul, as cited in Muhammad Hamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of State* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf., 1945), p. 102.

19. Cf. S. A. Siddiqi, *Public Finance in Islam* (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf., 1948), p. 97.

20. *The dhimmis are required by the Moslem state to adhere to the following conditions:* (1) Every male, adult, free and *dhimmi* is under obligation to pay the *jizya*, the amount of which is fixed by the Moslem authorities. (2) The *dhimmis* should not attack the religion of Islam nor show disrespect to Moslem practices. (3) They should not revile or show disrespect to the Prophet Muhammad or to the Qur'an. (4) They should not injure the life or property of a Moslem, nor make him abjure his belief. (5) The *Dhimmi* is not permitted to marry a Moslem woman. (A Moslem can, however, marry a Christian or a Jew but not an idol-worshipper or a polytheist.) (6) They are not permitted to assist the enemy nor to give refuge to a *harbi* (foreigner), nor to harbor spies. They are not allowed to disclose the secrets of Islam to the enemy or pass on intelligence to them. Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Laws of Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), p. 197; cf. E & D, Vol. I, p. 478.

21. It seems that a fairly large number of Arabs had settled in Sindh. The vastness of their numbers may be gathered from the fact that al-Qasim stationed at Multan alone "nearly 5,000 horsemen as a permanent force." Furthermore, numerous immigrants seem to have poured into Sindh since its conquest in 712. Al-Qasim is credited with having initiated the policy of colonization. Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, Part II, p. 218, al-Kufi, Chach-Nama, p. 192.

22. Classical jurist-theologians use this phrase to describe the lower status of the people who paid the*jizya* to the Moslem states. Imam Abu-l Hasan Ali Mawardi, *Al-Ahkām al-Sultāniyyā*, Urdu trans. M. Ibrahīm (Hyderabad-Deccan: 1931), p. 235.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 109; E & D, Vol. I, p. 165.

24. The members of the "in-group," by virtue of their definition, have some relation to each other (kin, neighborhood, alliance, *connubium* and *commercium*), which draws them together and differentiates them from others, who might be described as "out-groups." Usually "the relation of comradeship, peace, law and order, government and industry" is described to exist between members of the "in-group" and that of hostility towards the "out-groups." William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston: Ginn and Company, Publishers, 1907), p. 12.

25. We are told that among the soldiers of Muhammad ibn-al-Qasim were many readers of the Qur'an (*qurra*), on whom al-Hajjaj enjoined "to be busy reading it." Nor was that all. Several men versed in the lore of the Qur'an and the Sunna accompanied al-Qasim to Sindh. al-Kufi, *Chach-Nama*, p. 78.

26. The Caliph, al-Walid ibn-Abd-al-Malik, died six months after al-Hajjaj, January, 715. As al-Qasim's recall was immediately consequent upon that event, he must have remained altogether in the Punjab and Sindh, for about three and a quarter years. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 437.

27. al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, Vol. II, p. 229.

28. E & D, Vol. I, p. 442 fn. 1.

29. al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, Vol. II, p. 229.

30. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

31. As we have already explained, in principle, no Moslem whatever his origin might be, was under obligation to pay any tax other than the *zakah*. Taking

advantage of this, many of the new converts to Islam, particularly from al-Iraq and Khurasan, had begun to leave the villages in the reign of Caliph Abd-al-Malik (685-705) and flock to the cities, hoping thereby to join the army as *mawali* (clients). This constituted a double loss to the treasury, for upon conversion their taxes were greatly reduced, and as soldiers they were entitled to a special subsidy. Al-Hajjaj drove these men back to their farms and reinstated the high tribute they had paid before conversion, which included the equivalent of *kharaj* and *jizya*. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 231 and 292.

33. "In the strict application of the word (Karmatian), the name was given to the rebel federations of Arabs and 'Nabataean peasants' which were organized in Lower Mesopotamia after the servile war of the Zandj (877). It was based on a system of Communism into which initiation was necessary. In the broader sense, the name Karmatian means the great movement for social reform and justice based on equality, which swept through the Moslem world from the tenth to the twelfth centuries of our era. This movement, captured and controlled by an ambitious family, the Isma'ili dynasty, who founded the Fatimid anti-Caliphate in 910 became abortive and finally succumbed with this dynasty, before the counter stroke of the crusades." M. Th. Houtsma, *et al.* eds., "Karmatians", *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (London: Luzac & Co., 1927), Vol. II, p. 767; cf. Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-445.

34. Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-446.

35. G. LeStrange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), p. 333.

36. Minhaj-i-Saraj Muhammad-i-Minhaj al-Jurjani, *Tabakat-in-Nasri*, Trans. H. G. Raverty (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1873), Vol. I, pp. 9, 12, 27, 28.

37. Muhammad Qasim ibn Hindu Shah Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India*, Trans. John Briggs (London: Longman and Green, 1829), Vol. I, p. 17.

38. Muhammad Nazim, *The Life and Time of Sultan Mahmud* (Cambridge: University Press, 1931), p. 30.

39. Thomas Walker Arnold, *The Caliphate*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 77.

40. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 86, states that Sir Elliot's translation of this passage is misleading as it implies that the Sultan vowed to undertake a holy war to India every year, giving to his expeditions a touch of religious fanaticism; cf. Abu Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammad al Jabbarul 'Utbi, *Tarikh Yamini*, E & D, Vol. II, p. 24; al-jurjani, *op. cit.*, p. 81 does not mention either his "vow" or his "resolve" to make (holy) wars on India; cf. Sir Wolsely Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1928), p. 13 agrees with Nazim's translation.

41. The following is a chronological sequence of his expeditions to India: (1) Frontier towns, 1000, (2) Peshawar and Waihinda, 1001, (3) Bhira (Bhatia), 1004, (4) Multan, 1006, (5) Nawasa, 1007, (6) Nagarkot, 1008, (7) Narain, 1009, (8) Multan, 1010, (9) Ninduna, 1013, (10) Thanesar, 1014, (11) Lohkot (perhaps 1014), 1015, (12) Mathura, Kanauj, 1018, (13) The Rahib, 1021, (14) Kirat, Lohkat, Lahore, 1022, (15) Gwaliar, Kalinjar, 1023, (16) Somnath, 1025-26, (17) The Jats, 1026. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, (Calcutta: Susil

Gupta, 1951), Vol. I, p. 12; for a detailed description of the expeditions see E & D, Vol. II, pp. 434-478.

42. Shripad Ram Sharma, *The Crescent in India* (Bombay: Karnatic Publishing House, 1937), p. 53.

43. A historian who was a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud, in his adoration of the Sultan, says "On the same night that he [Sultan Mahmud] was born, an idol-temple in India, in the vicinity of Peshawar on the banks of the river Sindh, fell down." Al-jurjani, *op. cit.*, p. 76 cf. Saiyyad Hashmi Faridabadi, *Tarikh Musalmanan Pakistan-O-Bharat* (Karachi: Anjaman Tarraqi-i Urdu Pakistan, n.d.), p. 117.

44. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 12.

45. Abu Rihan al-Beruni, *al-Beruni's India.* Trans. Dr. Edward C. Sachau (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1910), Vol. I, pp. 21-22.

46. 'Utbi, *Tarikh Yamini*, E & D, Vol. II, pp. 30-32.

47. Nazim, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

48. al-Beruni, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 22.

49. Muhammad Habib, *Indian Culture and Social Life at the Time of the Turkish Invasion*, (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1945), p. 6. Hindu society remains divided into four main castes, and numerous subcastes. The four main castes are: (1) The Brahmans, or priestly caste, who are the highest; (2) The Kshatriya, who were the warriors; (3) The Vaisya, or agricultural caste, and (4) The Sudra, whose duty it is to render services to each of the preceding castes. At the bottom of the social pyramid, outside the pale of Hindu society are the "untouchables." Al-Beruni notes that the Hindus called their castes *varna*, i.e. colors. Al-Beruni, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 100-101.

50. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51. In fact the "Hindu nations" of Rajasthan, as their annalist describes them, resumed their feuds with each other as soon as Mahmud returned to Ghazni. Lt. Col. James Todd, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1892), Vol. I, pp. 245, 256-257.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

52. al-Beruni, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. XIII, 19.

53. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 22.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

55. Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Muhammadan Dynasties* (Westminister: Archibald Constable, 1894), pp. 288-289.

56. Mirza Muhammad Abdul Wahab Qazwini, "Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salman," Trans. Edward Granville Browne, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Britain and Ireland*, (Oct. 1905), p. 701 ff., hereafter referred to as J.R.A.S. (B & I). Sherani, a cultural historian of the Punjab, believes that Mas'ud Sa'd Salman's father came to Lahore as a treasurer to Prince Maudud, in the reign of Sultan Mas'ud Ghaznavi (1030-1040), Mahmud Sherani, *Punjab Mein Urdu* (Lahore: Maktaba Mu'in-ul-Adab, 1949), p. 53.

57. Nadhami-i-Arudi-i-Samarqandi, "Chahar Maqala," Trans. Edward G. Browne, *J.R.A.S.*, (B&I), (Oct. 1899), p. 779.

58. Qazwini, *op. cit.*, (Oct. 1905), p. 706.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 707-708.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 708.

61. Lahore was actually the name of the province, i.e., the entire conquered territory of the Indus Valley.

CHAPTER II

1. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India,* Vol. I, pp. 45-46.

2. The Sultans of Delhi have often been referred to as "Pathans" or Afghans". This is incorrect, because among the forty sultans, eight alone have any claim to be called Afghans. The rest were all Turks. cf. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: The Sultans of Delhi,* (London: Longmans and Co., 1884), p. vii.

3. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi,* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1944), p. 19 ff.

4. Dr. Ram Prasad Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration,* (Allahabad: The Indian Press, Ltd., 1936), p. 25.

5. al-jurjani, *op. cit.,* p. 616. Silver coins struck on this occasion bore the following inscription: "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet: al-Musta'nsir is the Commander of the faithful. Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in the British Museum* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1884,) p. 13. A Hindu historian remarks that "it was no fault of Altmash. The Muslim law, political conventions and the heritage from the Ghaznavides and Ghorides were largely responsible for it." Tripathi, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

6. al-jurjani, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 1259 Arnold, *op. cit.,* p. 87; Thomas Edward, "The Initial Coinage of Bengal", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Britain,* N.S. II (London: 1886), p. 186. Hereafter this journal will be referred to as *J.R.A.S.* (Britain).

7. Tripathi, *op. cit.,* pp. 36-37.

8. Edward Thomas, *The chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delphi* (London: Trubner and Co., 1871), p. 225; Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum,* (Calcutta) Vol. II, p. 36, as cited in Arnold, *op. cit.,* p. 87.

9. Thomas, *op. cit.,* p. 173.

10. Hitti, *op. cit.,* p. 487; Muir, *op. cit.,* p. 592.

11. Arnold, *op. cit.,* p. 89.

12. Taki-Eddin-Ahmad al-Makrizi, *Historie des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte,* Trans. M. Quatremere (Paris: Benjamin Dupart, 1837), Tom Premier, pp. 146-147; Hitti, op. cit., p. 676; Muir, *op. cit.,* p. 592.

13. al-Makrizi, *op. cit.,* p. 76.

14. Zia al-Din Barni, *Tarikh-i Feroz-Shahi* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal 1862), p. 492.

15. Arnold, *op. cit.,* p. 105.

16. Sultan Firuz Shah, *Futuhat-i Firuz Shai,* E & D, Vol. III, p. 387.

17. al-Makrizi, *op. cit.,* Tome I, p. 76; cf. Arnold, *op. cit.,* p. 102.

18. *Qur'an,* XXI, 22; al-Mawardi, *op. cit.,* p. 11.

19. Baghdadai, *Kitab Usul al-Din,* (Istanbul: 1928), Vol. I, pp. 274-275; Idem, *Kitab al-Farq Bayn al Firaq,* (Cairo: 1948), p. 22 as cited in Khadurri, *op. cit.,* p. 154.

20. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddima* (New York; Pantheon Books, 1958), p. 393 and fn. 225.

21. Arnold, *op. cit.,* p. 129.

22. *Qur'an,* XXXVIII, 25.

23. *Ibid.,* VI, 165.

24. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum: The Mughal Emperors* (London: Longmans and Co., 1892), p. LXXIII.

25. Saiyad Sulaiman Nadvi, "Khilāfat Awr Hindūstān," *Ma'rif*, (Azamgarh: October, 1921), p. 189.

26. Any suggestion or interpretation to the contrary, that the sultans only applied "their downright pragmatism to each situation as it arose", and that the "thing that marks out early Muslim polity in India is its empiricism", is a spurious view of the constitution of the Delhi Sultanate. cf. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

27. Tripathi, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

28. Sultan Mahmud, in fact, had five *Wazīrs* at a time in charge of different portfolios; but he was his own commander-in-chief, and he either personally led the campaigns or directed them from the capital. Nazim, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 130-131; cf. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

30. Cf. Agha Mahdi Husain, *Le Gouvernement du Sultanat de Delhi.* (Paris: Librairie Orientale and Americanie, 1936), pp. 194-195.

31. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 17 ff; cf. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

33. Tomonashchandra Dasgupta, "Aspects of Bengali Society from Bengali Literature", *Journal of the Department of Letters*, (Calcutta: University Press, 1927), Vol. XIV, pp. 78-79.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 83. 35. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

36. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, 1928, Vol. XVII, pp. 173-174.

37. *Ibid.*, 170-171; also a Brahman's fate was sealed if a Moslem forcibly circumsized him. He was condemned to remain an "outcaste" or a Moslem. cf. *Ibid.*, 1927, Vol. XIV, p. 77.

38. *Achara* is a Sanskrit work. It connotes "the observances of the Hindu religion; the personal and the social customs of the Hindus; also a name applied to Siva or Vishnu, and also Brahma as the Supreme Being." It also means "free from further transmigration." The last meaning is the most important. Surgeon General Edward Balfour, *The Cyclopaedia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia.* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1885) Vol. I, p. 17.

39. "*Kulin* is a race of Brahmans in Bengal who are deemed by other Brahmans to be of very pure descent, and in consequence Kulin Brahamans are held in great esteem in the uppermost priestly caste of Brahmans." *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 620.

40. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, 1928, Vol. XVII, p. 172.

41. Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlak, *Futuhat-i-Firoz Shahi*, E & D, Vol. III, p. 380.

42. A. J. Baines, *Census of India: 1891–A General Report* (London: 1893), p. 167; Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 255.

43. Sherani, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

44. The present mausoleum was constructed by Sultan Ibrahīm Ghaznavi (1059-1099). The floor of the entrance to the mausoleum, the door frames and the platforms to the right and left are the work of the Moghul Emperor Akbar. cf. Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains & Antiquities.* (Lahore: Imperial Press, 1892), pp. 179-180.

45. Asghar Ali, *Jawahir-i Faridi*, (Lahore: 1884), p. 395; another cultural historian mentions three tribes, Siyyal, Rajput, and Wattu, and then adds "et cetra"; cf. Muhammad Ikram, *Aab-i Kother* (Karachi: Ferozsons, 1952), p. 251.

46. S. M. Ikram, "The Spiritual Heritage", *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 172.

47. Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 44. E & D, Vol. II, p. 548.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43. 49. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
50. Frishta, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 184. 51. E & D, Vol. III, p. 604.
52. Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlak, *Futuhhat-i Firuz Shahi*, E & D, Vol. III, p. 387.
53. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-263, 273. 54. *Ibid.*, pp. 279-280.
55. Sir W. W. Hunter, "The Religions of India", *The Times*, (London), February 25, 1888.
56. Dr. James Wise, "The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal," *J.R.A.S.B.* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1894), No. 1, p. 32.
57. *Asiatic Researches*, (Asiatic Society of Bengal), Vol. XVII,, p. 536.
58. Dr. James Wise, "The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal," pp. 31-32.
59. H. Blockmann, "Geography and History of Bengal," *J.R.A.S.B.* (Bengal), No. III, 1873, pp. 260-268.
60. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 106; "Urdu without the Hindus as receiving medium, could never have been called into existence," Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 183.
61. Mir Aman, *Bagh-o-Bahar* (Bombay: Muhammadi Printing Press, n.d.) p 7; Cf. Muhammad Husain Azad, *Aab-i-Hayat* (Lahore: Sh. Mubarak Ali, 1947), pp. 1-10; Ram Babu Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature* (Allahabad, 1927), pp. 1-3.
62. Abu-l Fazl al Baihaki, *Tarikhus Subutktigin*, E & D, Vol. II, p. 130.
63. There is evidence to indicate that Hindi had already begun to influence Persian. Some Hindi words crept into the poetry of Firdawsi, the famous Persian poet. Unlike al-Beruni, Firdawsi never came to India.
64. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, Vol. I, p. 21; Sherani, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
65. Thomas Grahame Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 6.
66. Thomas Grahame Bailey, *Studies in North Indian Languages* (London: Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), p. 1.
67. Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 7.
68. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *Languages and Linguistic Problems*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1943), p. 16.
69. Sherani, *op. cit.*, p. 301. Bailey, however, believes that only a "few lines of doubtful authenticity are extant which show a mixture of Urdu, Punjabi and Persian." Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 18.
70. Sherani, *op. cit.*, p. 300. 71. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
72. Rev. William St. Claire Tisdall, *A Simplified Grammar and Reading Book of the Punjabi Language* (London: Trubner and Co., 1889), p. 10; Grierson maintains that "Punjabi grammar in the main follows that of Hindustani [Urdu]." He also explains how Punjabi grammar differs from Urdu. The differences he points out are neither basic nor comprehensive enough to be of any importance. George Abraham Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1916), Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 628-629.
73. Azad, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72. 74. *Ibid.*
75. Muhammad Habib, *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi* (Bombay: D. B. Taraporeval and Co., 1927), p. 21; Professor E. B. Cowell, "Amir Khusru's Kiran-us-S'adain," *J.R.A.S.B.* (Calcutta: 1860), pp. 225-399.
76. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, Vol. I, p. 86; Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi says: His (Muhammad b. Tughlak) learning was profound, but his "real place was a professorial chair, not the throne of Delhi." Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 6; another modern Hindu historian, Ram Prasad Tripathi, remarks that Muhammad b. Tughlak was

far above the average ruler of his day in intellectual matters. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

77. Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa,* Trans. Hamilton A. R. Gibb, (New York: Robert M. McBride and Co., 1929), p. 25; Zia-D Din Barni, Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, E & D, Vol. III, p. 238; cf. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India,* Vol. I, p. 86; Lt. Colonel Sir Wolseley Hair, *The Cambridge History of India,* (Cambridge: University Press, 1928), Vol. III, pp. 140-141, 144.

78. Agha Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughlak,* (London: Luzac and Co., 1938), p. 108.

79. Muhammad bin Mubarak Kirmani, *Siyar-ul-Auliya* (Delhi, 1884), pp. 273-275.

80. Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

81. For a detailed study of the missionary activities of the sufis and *mashaikhs* of the Ghaznavide and later era of the Delhi Sultanate and also for the above-mentioned *mashaikhs* see the excellent work of Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Aab-i Kother,* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1952), pp. 244, 258, 293 ff.

82. Kirmani, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

83. Lane-Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties,* pp. 321-322.

84. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

85. Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature,* p. 15.

86. For the literary history of Deccani-Urdu see Nasir-ud-Din Hashmi, *Deccan Mein Urdu* (Lahore: Maktaba Mu'in-al-Adab, 1952), 4th Edition.

87. Actually Urdu has been known by several different names during the course of its growth. *Hindavi* was the earlier name, and the term *Rekhta* was used for the literary and poetical form of it. Shah 'Abdūl Qādir (1755-1815) in his well-known translation of the Qur'an, uses the name Hindi. The word Urdu first occurred as the name of the language in Mushafi, (1750-1824). Urdu as a name became common in Lucknow after 1846 and in Delhi after 1857. Bailey, *Studies in North Indian Languages,* pp. 3, 7; "Urdu: The Name and the Language," *J.R.A.S.B.* (Calcutta 1930), pp. 393-397; cf. Azad, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 108.

88. Grierson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 165; Vol. IX, (1916), p. 45: cf. Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Azad, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

89. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

90. For an excellent biography and summary of the religious beliefs of Kabir, who was deeply influenced by the Hindu reformative *Vaishnava* movement, see Rai Bahadur Lala Sitaram, "Kabir," *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta: University Press, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-36. A complete list of a voluminous mass of writings attributed to Kabir as preserved in *Khas Granth* will be found in George Abraham Grierson, *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1889), pp. 7-8.

91. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

92. Moslem historians believe that Nanak was carefully educated by one Saiyyad Hasan, a neighbor of Nanak's father, who conceived "an affection for young Nanak," and who was wealthy but childless. Saiyad Ghulam Husain Tabatabai, *Siar-ul-Mutakharin* (Calcutta: 1902), p. 83.

93. Max Arthur Macauliffe. *The Sikh Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), Vol. I, p. 58.

94. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 177; see also *Adi-Granth,* Trans. Ernest Trumpp, (London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1877), pp. 126-128.

95. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 195; Joseph Davey Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs* (London: 1919), p. 42. Cf. also Charles Wilkins, "Sikhs and Their College," *Asiatic Researches* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1788), No. I, pp. 288-292; *Adi-Granth*, pp. 1-13.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 561.

97. *Adi-Granth*, see the end of the *Asa Rag*.

98. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

99. Later Sikh writers and Nanak's disciples have attributed a large number of his sayings directly to God. For instance, an interview between Nanak and God is described, in which he was charged by God "to bear my name in the *Kal'jug* [depraved age]." God is supposed to have said "I will be thy *Guru* [teacher] and thee shall be a *Guru* to all mankind." cf. Khazan Singh, *History and Philosophy of Sikh Religion* (Lahore: 1914), Vol. I, pp. 70-71.

100. Sikh writers have also attributed miracles and prophecies to Guru Nanak. For instance, he is reported to have predicted the downfall of Ibrahim Khan Lodi (1518-1526) and the downfall of the foes of Emperor Babur. When Hamayun, the son of Emperor Babur, was deposed by Sher Shah Suri in 1539, Guru Nanak, according to Sikh accounts, had already predicted the event. Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 70; cf. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 110-114. Like Jesus Christ, Nanak is reputed to have cured sick people and brought the dead back to life.

101. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

102. *Sikh* is a Sanskrit word, which means a disciple or devoted follower. In the Punjabi dialect it is corrupted into Sikh.

103. Trumpp, the famous translator and commentator of the *Adi-Granth* says: "Nanak followed in all essential points the common Hindu philosophy of those days, particularly the system laid down in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, and his predecessor, Kabir." Thumpp, 'Sketch of the Religion of the Sikhs", *Adi-Granth*, p. xcvii.

104. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 187; Khazan Singh, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 108-109; Earnest Trumpp says that what Nanak looked chiefly for in his successors were not scientific accomplishments, or even a cultivated mind, but blind obedience to the command of the Guru. The stories which are told in the *Janam Sakhis* (biographies), of the total *sacrificium intellectus* of Lahna, are therefore very significant for the development of Sikh religious thought in later centuries. Trumpp, "Sketch of the Life of Other Gurus," *Adi-Granth*, p. lxxvii.

105. The script used in the *Adi-Granth* is Gurmukhi. This alphabet is supposed to have been invented by Guru Angad.

Chapter III

1. Zahīr-ud-Din Muhammad Babur, *Tuzak-i-Baburi*, E & D, Vol. IV, p. 262.

2. Haig, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 21.

3. Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, E & D, Vol. V, p. 189; Abul-l Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1907), Vol. I, p. 287.

4. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, pp. 153-155; Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, E & D, Vol. V, p. 192.

5. Vincent Arthur Smith, *Akbar: The Great Mughal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917), pp. 160-161.

6. Vincent Arthur Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 357.

7. 'Abdūl Qādir Badauni, *Tarikh-i-Badauni*, E & D, Vol. V, p. 538; Muhammad Husain Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī* (Lahore: Shaikh Mubarak Ali, 1947), p. 101.

8. Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 429; Badauni, *Tarikh-i-Badauni*, E & D, Vol. V, p. 539. Muhammad Husain Azad lists twenty-seven works; he says that most of them are still available in India. Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, pp. 141-143.

9. Haig, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 102. 10. Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, pp. 46-47.

11. Smith, *Akbar: The Great Mughal*, p. 133.

12. Badauni, *Tarikh-i-Badauni*, E & D, Vol. V, pp. 520-1, 526, 537.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 542, 544. 14. Haig, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 114.

15. Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, pp. 338, 385, 395.

16. Badauni, *Tarikh-i Badauni*, E & D, Vol. V, p. 519; Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, p. 389.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 390; Badauni, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 520.

18. Badauni, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 536; Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, p. 344.

19. Badauni, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 542.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 543; Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, p. 398.

21. Badauni, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 543-544.

22. Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, pp. 400-401. 23. *Ibid.*, pp. 523-524.

24. Abu-l Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbarī*, Trans. H. Blockmann, (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1868), p. 1.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 145. Blockmann, however, establishes a relationship of disciple and teacher between Shaikh Mubārak and Shaikh 'Allaī. Abu-l Fazl, A'in-i-Akbarī, p. 6.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

27. Badauni, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 516; Abu-l Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbarī*, p. 6.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 517. Azad has presented a rather pathetic story of Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons. According to him, they were subjected to persecution without legitimate theological reason. Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, pp. 420-432.

29. Smith, *Akbar: The Great Mughal*, p. 308.

30. "*Qui acumine ingenii facile omnes superabat.*" Father Anthony Monserrate, *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal), Vol. III, no. 9, pp. 518-704.

31. 'Abdūl Qādir Badauni, *Mūntakhab-al-Tawarīkh* (Calcutta: College Press, 1868), Vol. II, p. 202.

32. Nawab Samsam-ud-Daulah Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maāsir-ul-'Umarā'* (Calcutta: Urdu Guide Press, 1890), Vol. II, p. 610.

33. Smith, *Akbar: The Great Mughal*, p. 310; Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, p. 605.

34. Abu-l Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, Preface, p. XXXII.

35. Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, pp. 470-471.

36. Abu-l Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 27-31.

37. Azad, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, pp. 452, 490-517.

38. Badauni, *Mūntakhab al-Tawarīkh*, Vol. I, p. 161.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 261; Smith, *Akbar: The Great Mughal*, p. 261.

40. Rev. L. Besse, S.J., H. Hosten, S.J., "List of Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in Bengal and Burma: 1576-1742," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Feb. 1911), Vol. VII, pp. 15-35 is an excellent article on early missionary activities in India.

41. Haig, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 121; Smith, *Akbar: The Great Mughal*, Chapters V, VI, pp. 123-155, Ch. X, pp. 233-259.

42. Badauni, *Tarikh-i-Badauni,* E & D, Vol. V, p. 531; Haig, *op. cit.,* Vol. V, p. 122.

43. Ibid., p. 123; Badauni, *Tarikh-i-Badauni,* E & D, Vol. V, p. 532.

44. Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. *(Ed),* "Father A. Monserrate's Account of Akbar, being the translation of Relacam do Equebar, Rei dos Mogores; Nov. 26, 1582," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (May and June, 1912), Vol. VIII, Nos. 5 and 6; p. 216 ff.

45. Cf. Saiyyad Sbah-ud-Din 'Abdūr Rahmān, "Hindūstān Kay Sulatīn, 'Ulamā' Awr Mashaikh," *Ma'rif,* (Azamgarh: Vol. 89, No. 4, April 1962), p. 250.

46. Smith, *Akbar: The Great Mughal,* p. 192.

47. Badauni, *Mūntakhab al-Tawarikh,* Vol. II, p. 285.

48. Haig, *op. cit.,* Vol. V, pp. 128-129.

49. Smith, *Akbar: The Great Mughal,* p. 211.

50. Haig, *op. cit.,* Vol. V, p. 130; H. G. Keene, *A Sketch of the History of Hindustan* (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1885), p. 122.

51. Haig, *op. cit.,* Vol. V, p. 131; Keene, *op. cit.,* p. 123; Smith, *Akbar: The Great Mughal,* p. 212.

52. Haig, *op. cit.,* Vol. V, p. 131; for instance, the emperor forbade Moslems to pursue the study of the *Tafsīr, Hadiths* and other Islamic books. Cf. Badauni, *Mūntakhab al-Tawarikh,* Vol. I, pp. 206, 363. Before this, Jesuit missionaries could not openly convert people to Christianity because the Qur'anic law said that apostasy was punishable by death. In spite of fierce opposition, Akbar signed a decree granting the right of open conversion to Christians. Cf. C. Jinarajadasa, *Abu-l Fazl and Akbar* (Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1934), p. 51.

53. Sri Ram Sharma, *The Mughal Government and Administration* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1951), p. 163; Abu-l Fazl, *Akbar Nama,* Beveridge, Ed., (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1904), Vol. II, p. 33.

54. Sharma, *The Mughal Government and Administration,* p. 165.

55. Jinarajadasa, *op. cit.,* pp. 2-3, 17, 33.

56. Khafi Khan, *Mūntakhab al-Lubāb* (Calcutta: College Press, 1869), Vol. I, p. 233.

57. Asad Beg, *Wiqayah,* E & D, Vol. VI, pp. 169-170.

58. Nur-ud-Din Muhammad Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* Trans. Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1914), Vol. II, p. 269; Abu-l Fazl, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 391.

59. Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 74; Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Raod-i-Kother,* (Karachi: Offset Press, n.d. p. 174).

60. Burhan Ahmad Faruqi, *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1940), pp. 1-2, 22; see also Muhammad Mas'ūd Ahmad, "Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Mujaddid Alf Thani," *Ma'rif,* (Azamgarh: Vol. 89, No. 2, February, 1962), pp. 136-146.

61. *Sawāth' Ilhām,* known as *Tafsīr-i-bay'nūqt* is a commentary on the Qur'an, written in Arabic by Faizī, the poet-laureate of Akbar. It has the peculiarity of containing no letter with a dot, although the Arabic alphabet has fifteen dotted letters; cf. Ikram, *Raod-i-Kother,* p. 148.

62. *Khilafat,* in mystic terminology, is generally the recognition on the part of a spiritual leader that a disciple has completed a mystic journey and has reached

such a high stage of development that he can be authorized to guide others. cf. Faruki, *op. cit.*, p. 10, fn. 2.

63. Ikram, *Raod-i-Kother*, p. 148.

64. Faruqi, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

65. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Maktūbāt-i-Imam-i-Rabbānī*, Ed. M. Nūr Ahmad, (Amritsar: Mujjaddidi Press, n.d.), Vol. I, pp. 25-249.

66. Ikram, *Raod-i-Kother*, p. 205. 67. Jahangir, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 161.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 233.

69. Dedicated to Mujaddid Alf Thani (Shaikh Ahmad).

70. The exaggerated claim of Abul Kalam Azad that Shaikh Ahmad was exclusively responsible for checking the tide of Akbar's innovations is not accurate. Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad, *Tadhikra* (Lahore: Kitab Ghar, 1919), p. 264. His statements simply overlook the political forces which obtained the pledge of a pro-Moslem policy from Jahangir before he could succeed his father. cf. Ikram, *Raod-i-Kother*, pp. 170-174; Azad's rhapsodies, as they come from a disciple, are understandable but they make questionable history.

71. Jahangir, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 72-73.

72. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 300.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 150; Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

74. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 540.

75. 'Abd al-Hamīd Lahawrī, *Badshah Namah* (Calcutta: College Press, 1867), Vol. I, pp. 114, 196-200.

76. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 518.

77. Lahawrī, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 58; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 510.

78. Lahawrī, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 57-58.

79. Mirza Aminai Qāzvinī, *Badshahnama* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1867), p. 405.

80. Islamic marriage is a contract, which specifies a certain amount of money agreed upon between husband and wife, to which the wife is entitled either during wedlock or upon divorce.

81. Cf. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

82. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 421-422.

83. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 452; Qazvini, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-455.

84. Lahawrī, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 58.

85. Zahir-ud-Din Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times* (Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 1935), p. 51.

86. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Aurangzeb* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), p. 36.

87. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1920), Vol. I, p. 294.

88. Lahawrī, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 373, 376; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 600, Vol. II, p. 398.

89. Shaikh Abul Fath, *Adāb-i 'Alamgirī* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1878), p. 177; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 77.

90. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 165.

91. Faruki, *op. cit.*, p. 23; S. Moinul Haq, "Prince Awrangzib: A Study," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. X, Part I, January, 1962, pp. 15-17.

92. H. Beveridge, "Khalasat-at-Tawarīkh of Sūjan Rai," *J.R.A.S.* (B & I), October, 1894, p. 760.

93. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 296; Hindu sacred literature includes four dif-

ferent types, namely the *Samhita* or collection of verses (*Sam*, together, *hita* put; they are *Rg-Veda, Sama-Veda, Yajur-Veda,* and *Atharva-Veda*), *Brahmanas, Aranyakas,* and the *Upanishads*. According to Hindu belief the Vedas "were revealed as commandments and prohibitions to show the true path of happiness. The *Upanishads* only revealed the ultimate truth and reality, a knowledge of which at once emancipates a man." The *Upanishads* are also known by another name *Vedanta*, as they are believed to be the last portions of the *Veda* (*Veda-anta*, end). More than two hundred *Upanishads* are said to have been composed, although the earliest *Upanishads* (no more than thirteen) were composed by 500 B. C. They continued to be written during the Moslem rule. In 1917 one hundred and twelve *Upanishads* were published by the Nirnaya-Sagara Press in Bombay. Cf. Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1957), Vol. I, pp. 13, 28-30, 39; M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1956), p. 51.

94. Faruki, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 41; see also Saiyyad Najib Ashraf Nadvi, *Muqaddima Ruq'at-i-Alamgiri* (Azamgarh: Matb'a-i-Ma'rif, n.d.), p. 364.

96. Muhammad Saqī Mūsta'īd Khan, *Maāsir-i-'Alamgiri* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1870), p. 4.

97. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 4.

98. Muhammad Kazim, *'Alamgīr Namah* (Calcutta: The College Press, 1868), p. 34; Faruki, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 312.

99. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 359-360.

100. The Moslems must wear their trousers a little above their ankles. Hence Dara's contemptuous remark; Faruki, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-54.

101. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 35.

102. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 203; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

103. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 34-36.

104. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 140; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 106; Nawab Samsamu-d-Daulāh Shah Nawāz Khan, *Maāsir-ul-'Umarā'* (Calcutta: Guide Press, 1890) Vol. II, p. 697.

105. Kazim, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

106. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 86-87.

107. Kazim, *op. cit.*, p. 561; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 110.

108. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 156.

109. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 216-217, 247; Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 239, 251, 339, 394; Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 237.

110. Kazim, *op. cit.*, p. 366. 111. *Ibid.*, p. 390.

112. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 212-213; Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

113. Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 249.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 272. 115. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

116. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 101.

117. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 213.

118. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 301.

119. Rajani Ranjan Sen, "A Farman of Emperor Aurangzeb," *J.A.S.B.*, (November, 1911), Vol. VII, No. 10, pp. 687-690.

120. Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 171. 121. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

122. Lahawrī, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 231; Faruki, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

123. Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 81. 124. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

125. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 255.

126. *"Akhar farmūdand ka'h filān-i pūr shokoh wa shān Swarī dar moqabal āan groh rawānā Sazand, wa chanday Kūshtāh wa pamal-i filān wa aspan gāshtānd." Ibid.*, pp. 255-256.

127. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

128. *Ba Amanat Khan farmūdand kah dar mūqadmāt-i dīgar mali wa mulki āanch'h sanad-i m'afi bamardam mi dahand mūkhtāryd, ama jizya kah hazar dūshwarī bar kūfār jari sakhata aym m'af namūdan-i āan bida'it wa barham khūrdān-i bandobāst-i jizya mi gardad. Ibid.*, p. 378.

129. Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

130. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 87-89. 131. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 395; Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

133. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 330.

134. Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

136. The stronghold of this sect in the seventeenth century was the district of Narnaul, seventy-five miles south of Delhi. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 116; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 252-254.

138. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 3. 139. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-337.

140. *Adi Granth*, p. XXXVIII; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

141. Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

142. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 244-263.

143. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-343.

144. William Irvine, "Guru Gobind Singh and Bandah," *J.A.S.B.* (1844), Vol. LXIII, Part I, p. 117.

145. *Ibid.*, p. 118; cf. Trumpp maintains that his sons were buried alive in the foundation of a wall. *Adi-Granth*, p. XCII.

146. *Adi-Granth* (Trumpp), p. XC. 147. *Ibid.*, p. XXXVIII.

148. *Adi-Granth*, p. CXIV. 149. *Ibid.*, pp. CXIV-CXVI.

150. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 262; Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-173.

151. Faruki, *op. cit.*, p. 124. 152. Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

153. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 367-368.

154. Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-176. 155. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

156. *Ibid.*, pp. 179-182.

157. H. G. Rawlinson, *Shivaji, The Maratha* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 29-30.

158. Charles Augustus Kincaid; Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 131-132.

159. James C. G. Duff, *A History of the Mahrattas* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), Vol. I, p. IX.

160. Govind Sakharam Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History* (Patna: Patna University Press, 1926), p. 63.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

162. Kincaid and Parasnis, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 183-184.

163. Govind Sakharam Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas* (Bombay: Phoenix publications, 1957), Vol. I, pp. 39, 271.

164. Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, p. 70.

165. *Ibid.*, p. 71. 166. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

167. Haig, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 272; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 117-118.

168. Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 273; Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Kincaid and Parasnis, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 208.

169. Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, p. 68.

170. *Ibid.*, p. 69; Duff, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 160-161.

171. Kazim, *op. cit.*, p. 969.

172. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 199.

173. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

174. This chronogram, of course, is to be interpreted by the numerical value of the consonants: K is 20, Alif is 1, F is 80, R is 200, B is 2, J is 3, H is 5, NN is 50, R is 200, F is 80, T is 400. This equals 1091 A.H./1680 A.D. Cf. Kafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 271.

175. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 231.

176. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 238.

177. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (Calcutta: The Signet Press, 1946), p. 319.

178. For a detailed study of the Golkonda succession, see Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 309, 313.

179. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 328.

180. Mūsta'īd Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 235; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 389.

181. Mir Mubarak-ullah Iradat Khan Waza, *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan*, E & D, Vol. VII, p. 564.

Chapter IV

1. William Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 1921), Vol. I, p. 6.

2. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 630.

3. Purshotam Vishram Mawji, "Shavaji's Swarajya," *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (Bombay: 1908), Vol. XXII, p. 31.

4. Kincaid and Parasnis, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 127.

5. Irvine, "Guru Gobind Singh and Bandah," *J.A.S.B.*, (1894), Vol. LXIII, Part I, No. 3, p. 121.

6. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 562, says that at first there were 4,000 to 5,000 men on ponies and 7,000 to 8,000 infantry, increasing first to 19,000 and in the end to 40,000 well armed men.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 564.

8. Irvine, "Guru Gobind Singh and Bandah," p. 124

9. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

10. C. J. Rogers, "On the Coins of the Sikh," *J.A.S.B.* (1881), Vol. L, Part I, pp. 80-81.

11. C. J. Rogers, "Couplets on Coins of Kings after Jahangir," *J.A.S.B.* (Calcutta: 1889), Vol. LVIII, p. 30.

12. Irvine, "Guru Gobind Singh & Bandah," *op. cit.*, p. 135.

13. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 637.

14. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 672-673.

15. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 93.

16. The word *Kalawant* indicates that he is a member of the professional musician class; the women sing and dance, the men play the accompaniments.

17. Instead of Multan, the province of Akbarabad is mentioned by Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 689-690.

18. Ghulam Husain Khan Tabatabai, *Siyarul-Mutakharin*, trans. Notamanus, (Calcutta: T. D. Chatterjee, 1902), Vol. I, pp. 36-37.

19. William Irvine, "Later Mughals, 1707-1803," *J.A.S.B.*, (Calcutta: 1896), Vol. LXV, No. 1-4, p. 169; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 690.

20. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 708, 710-711.

21. William Irvine, "The Later Mughals (1707-1803)" *J.A.S.B.* (Calcutta: 1898), Vol. LXVII, Part I, No. 2, p. 157.

22. Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 63-66.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Regarding the role of Pathan nobles see William Irvine, "The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukh-abad," *J.A.S.B.*, (Calcutta: 1878), Vol. XLVII, Part I, No. IV, p. 259 ff.

25. Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 274.

26. Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 60.

27. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 879.

28. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 441, 872; Vol. III, pp. 120, 837, 875-883.

29. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 762-764.

30. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 765.

31. *Mukti* is the final deliverance of the soul from the body, and exemption from further transmigration. Sir Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), p. 821.

32. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 77.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10................34. *Ibid.*, p. 811.

35. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 719. There is a somewhat apocryphal story told in the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* on the mode of Farrukhsiyar's death. In this account, the direct blame for it is removed from the shoulders of the Saiyads. Cf. Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 319.

36. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 816-817.

37. *Chauth*, literally ¼ of the revenue collections; *Sardeshmukhi*, the allowances of a *Sardeshmukh*, (*Sar*, *"chief,"* *desh* "country", *mukh* "head"); Sawaraj–*swa*, "own", *raj*, "territory".

38. For a detailed list of the *subhas*, *talukas*, *parganas* and forts, enumerated in the imperial *farman*, legalizing the Hindu state in the Deccan, cf. Purshotam Vishram Mawje, "Shivaji's Sawarjya," *The Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (Bombay: 1908), Vol. XXII, pp. 32, 36-42.

39. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 829.

40. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 841-842; Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 147.

41. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 850.

42. Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 176; Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 904.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 941, Khafi Khan cannot believe it possible that Nizam-ul-Mulk had any share in poisoning the Saiyad.

44. Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 244.

45. Irvine, "The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad," p. 306.

46. Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

47. Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 309; this portion of the book is written by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

48. Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 305; Haig, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 357; Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 295 says that Nizām-ul-Mūlk after fighting several

bloody battles with Baji Rao returned to Delhi, when he heard of Nadir Shah's invasion of Delhi.

49. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1921), Vol. II, p. 254.

50. Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 302. 51. Sykes, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 259.

52. Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. I ,p. 308.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 315. 54. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

55. Anand Ram Mukhlis, *Tazkira*, E & D, Vol. VIII, pp. 88-90.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

57. Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar, 1932), Vol. 1, pp. 181-192.

58. Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 188.

59. Ghulam Husain Salim, *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, Trans. Maulvi 'Abdūs Salam, (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1902), p. 364.

60. Tabatabai, the author of a splendid Persian history of India *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, was a partisan of Mīr Ja'ffar and the English East India Company. Siraj-ud-Daulah had ordered his banishment from the country. Therefore his description of events concerning Siraj-ud-Daulah leading to the battle of Plassey should be viewed with extreme caution, and checked with those of other historians. His hatred of Siraj-ud-Daulah seems to have blinded him.

61. Henry H. Dodwell, *The Cambridge History of India: 1499-1858* (Cambridge: University Press, 1929), Vol. V, p. 81.

62. James Mill, *The History of British India* (London: James Madden, 1848), Vol. I, p. 33.

63. Dodwell, *op. cit.*, p. 103. 64. Mill, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 32.

65. Dodwell, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 112; Mill, *op cit.*, Vol. III, p. 33.

66. Salim, *op. cit.*, p. 365. 67. Mill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 163.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

69. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 177; Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India 1756-1858* (Manchester: 1915), p. 46.

70. Blochmann, "Notes on Siraj-ud-Daulah and the Town of Murshidabad taken from a Persian manuscript of the Tarikh-i-Mansure," *J.A.S.B.* (Calcutta: 1867), part I, No. II, p. 89.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 90. 72. Muir, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

73. Salim, *op. cit.*, p. 370, fn. 1.

74. Throughout the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, the British writers referred to the Moslems of India as Moors.

75. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 229.

76. Tabatabai, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 23.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 233; Clive gives the same account of this battle in one of his dispatches to the directors of the East India Company, Muir, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-57; Salim, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

78. Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

79. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Mill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 326.

80. Muir, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167; Mill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 307.

81. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

82. H. G. Keene, *A Sketch of the History of Hindustan* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1885), p. 338.

83. Keene, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

84. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, p. 71.
85. *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 78; Tabatabai, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, p. 377.
86. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, p. 92.
87. Mawlana 'Obaid Ullāh Sindhī, *Shah Walīullāh Awr Un Ki Siyāsī Tahrīk* (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1952), p. 51.
88. "Political Letters of Imam Walīullāh", *The New Thought,* Lahore: July 5, 1961, p. 9; August 20, 1961, pp. 8-10; Khalīq Ahmad Nizāmī, *Shah Walīullāh Dehlvī Kāy Siyāsī Maktūbāt* (Aligarh: M. U. Press, 1950), pp. 52, 105-106.
89. Tabatabai, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, pp. 379-380.
90. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, p. 277.
91. Tabatabai, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, pp. 381-382. 92. *Ibid.,* p. 386.
93. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, p. 269.
94. Tabatabai, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, p. 385.
95. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, pp. 238, 270-271.
96. Tabatabai, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, p. 389.
97. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas,* Vol. III, p. 448.
98. *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 459; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, p. 317.
99. Tabatabai, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, p. 391. 100. *Ibid.,* p. 395.
101. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, p. 378.
102. *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 380.

Chapter V

1. Mawlavi M. Hidayat Husain, "Autobiography of Shah Walīullāh," *J.A.S.B.* (Calcutta: April, 1912), Vol. VIII, No. 4; N.S. p. 161.
2. Maulana Hafiz Muhammad Rahīm Bakhsh, *Hayāt-i-Walī* (Lahore: Al-Maktabā al-Sālfiyā, 1955), pp. 7, 16-19, 203.
3. Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullāh al-Baligha,* Trans. into Urdu by Mawlana 'Abd-al-Rahīm, (Lahore: Qomī Kūtb Khana, 1953), Vol. I, p. 55. "*Shah Wajī-ud-Din bakamal taqva wa shūja'āt mosūf bodand.*" See Mawlana 'Abd-al-Rahīm's very scholarly and informative preface (121 pp.) to the book.
4. Shah Walīullāh, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 53-54.
5. This is an order of sufis which was founded by Khawja Bahā al-Din Naqshband. His real name was Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Bukhārī. He was born in 1388.
6. The full title of the work is *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl.* It is a commentary of the Qur'an by 'Abdullāh bin 'Umar al-Baizāvī (d. 1286).
7. The author of the work is Walī al-Din Abu 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin 'Abdullāh al-Khatīb al-Tabrizi. It was completed in 1336.
8. The author of this eminent work is Abu 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin Isma'īl al-Bukhārī (d. 869).
9. *Qir'at samā'at* — literally reading and hearing. This refers to the Moslem practice in *madressa* where a competent student reads aloud the text before his tutor and the rest of the students follow him in silence.
10. The author of this book is Abu 'Isa Muhammad bin Saurah Tirmidhī (d. 892). It deals with the person, manners and character of the Prophet.
11. The author of the work is 'Ubaidullāh bin Mas'ud bin Sadr al-Shari'at al-Thani al-Mahbūbī (d. 1346).

12. The author's name is Burhān al-Din Abu al-Hasan Ali bin Abi Bakr bin 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Marghīnānī (d. 1196).
13. The full title of the work is *al-Muntakhab fī Usūl al-Madhhab*, but commonly called Husāmi. Its author is Husām al-Din Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Hanafī; died 1246.
14. It is a commentary on *Tanqīh al-Usūl*, a text on the principles of Hanafite law, both the commentary and text are by the same author 'Ubaidullāh bin Mas'ud bin Sadr al-Sharī'at al-Thani al-Mahbūbī (d. 1346).
15. It is a super-commentary on the *Tawzīh* by Sa'd al-Din Mas'ud bin 'Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 1389).
16. Its full title is *Tahrīr al-Qawā'id al-mantaqīya fī Sharh al-Risālat al-Shamsīya*, but is often simply called Qutbī because it is a commentary of Qutb al-Din Muhammad al-Razī (d. 1346).
17. It is a commentary of Qutb al-Din Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Razī on Sirāj al-Din, Abu al-Sanā' Muhammad bin Abī al-Urmavī's (d. 1283) work entitled *Matāli' al-Anwar*.
18. It is a commentary of Sa'd al-Din Mas'ud bin 'Umar al-Taftāzānī on Najm al-Din Abu Hafs 'Umar bin Muhammad al-Nasafī's (d. 1142) work entitled *al-Aqā'id*.
19. It annotates Taftāzānī's commentary by Ahmad bin Mūsa al-Khayālīi (d. 1456).
20. It is a commentary of Saiyyad Sharīf Jurjānī Ali bin Muhammad (d. 1413) on *Kitāb al-Mawāqif* by 'Azud al-Din 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ijī (d. 1355).
21. The author is Shihāb al-Din Abu Hafs 'Umar bin Muhammad al-Suhrawardī (d. 1234).
22. Probably the author means the work of Muhammad bin Muhammad Hāfiz-i-Bukhārī (d. 1419) in which he collected the sayings of Khawja Baha al-Din Naqshband (d. 1389).
23. It is a commentary of Nūr al-Din 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (d. 1492) on Sufi Rubā'īs.
24. It is a commentary on Fakhr al-Din Ibrahīm bin Shahriyār Iraqi's (d. 1287 or 1289) tract in prose and verse on mystic love by Nūr al-Din 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī.
25. It is a commentary of Jāmī on Ibn 'Arabī's (d. 1240) mystic work entitled *Naqsh al-Fusūs*.
26. It is a treatise on pious charms and remedies.
27. It is an abridgement of Ibn Sīna's (commonly known in the west as Avicenna, died in 1037) work *al-Qānūn* by 'Alā al-Din bin Abu al-Hazm, commonly called Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288).
28. It is a commentary on Asīr al-Din Mufazzal bin 'Umar al-Abharī's (died 1264) famous work, *Hidāyāt al-Hikma*. Two commentaries of this work have been traditionally taught in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent; one is by Mīr Husain al-Maibudhī and the other is by Sadr al-Din Muhammad bin Ibrahīm al-Shirazi. Probably Shah Walīullāh refers to the second one.
29. The author's name is Jamal al-Din Abu 'Amr 'Uthman bin 'Umar bin al-Hājib (d. 1248).
30. Sa'd al-Din Taftāzānī, wrote two commentaries on the *Talkhīs al-Miftāh* by Jalal al-Din Muhammed bin 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Qazvīnī, commonly called

Khatīb-i-Dimishq (d. 1338). The earlier and larger of these two commentaries is commonly called *al-Mutawwal* and the shorter is called *Mkhtasar al-Mā'ani.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. His full name was Muhammad bin Sadr Amīn al-Shirwani Mulla Zāda (d. 1626).

33. Hidayat Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 165; fns. 2-8.

34. The first chapter of the Qur'an. It is customary among Moslems to repeat this as a good omen previous to the beginning of each important piece of business.

35. Hidayat Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

36. Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1958), p. 97.

37. Fazlur Rahman, "The Thinker of Crisis: Shah Waliy-Ullah," *Pakistan Quarterly*, (Karachi: summer, 1956), Vol. VI, No. II, p. 44.

38. The founder of the Hanafī sect was Imam Abu Hanīfa al-Nu'mān bin Sābit. He was born in Kufa in 700 and died in Baghdad in 767. The Shāfi'ī sect was founded by Imam Muhammad bin Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī. He was born in Askalon, Palestine, 767 and died in Cairo in 819. The Mālikī sect was founded by Imam Abu 'Abdullāh Mālik bin Ans, who was born in Medina in 716 and died there in 795. The Hanbalī sect was founded by 'Abdullāh bin Hanbal. He was born in Baghdad in 780 and died in 855.

39. Hidayat Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 174. *"Na'amāt-i 'Azmā bar ain za'īf ān ast kah aū ra khil'āt-i fathiāt dand wa fath dora'a-i pasīn bar dāst-i wāy kardand."*

40. Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

41. The *Shaikh's* full name is Abu Tahir Muhammad bin Ibrahīm al-Kurdi (d. 1732). Hidayat Husain *op. cit.*, p. 173.

42. Rahīm Bakhsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-436.

43. Hidayat Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 166. 44. Cf. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

45. Shah Walīullāh, *Fuyūz-al-Harāmāin*, Urdu translation, Muhammad Sarwar, (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1947), p. 296.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

47. Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, Vol. I, p. 130.

48. This Persian translation was entitled *Fath al-Rahmān*, and accompanied with explanatory notes. It was first lithographed in Cawnpur in 1872.

49. Ikram, *Raod-i-Kother*, p. 346; cf. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Rahīm Bakhsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-419, fn. 2.

50. Sh. Muhammad Ikram, "Imam Walīullāh: His Life and Work,"II, *The New Thought* (Lahore: August 20, 1961), p. 4.

51. Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, Vol. I, p. 118; this is Mawlana Abd-al-Rahim's opinion.

52. Rahīm Bakhsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 496-497; Ikram, *Raod-i-Kother*, p. 359.

53. It was translated into Urdu by Muhammad Ahsan Siddiquī and was entitled *Kashāf;* it was lithographed in Delhi in 1891.

54. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42, also asserts that Najf Khan tortured Shah Walīullāh.

55. Ikram, *Raod-i-Kother*, p. 377.

56. Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, Vol. I, p. 660 ff; for selected passages from his treatise on *ijtihād*, see Muhammad Daud Rahbar, "Shah Walīullāh & Ijtihād: 'iqd al-jid Fi Ahkām al-ijtihād wa-l-Taqlīd," *The Muslim World*, (Hartford, Connecticut: October, 1955), Vol. XLV, No. 4, pp. 346-358.

57. Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha,* Vol. I, pp. 603-4.

58. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal's sixth lecture "On the principle movement in the structure of Islam," is based on Shah Walīullāh's reasoning on the need for independent judicial thinking in the reformation of *irtafāqāt,* the mores of the society. Iqbal, *op. cit.,* p. 171; cf., Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha,* Vol. I, part I, Chapter XI, p. 519 ff.

59. Cf. Daniel C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 140.

60. Shah Wallīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha,* Vol. I, Part I, p. 523; cf. Sir Thomas Walker Arnold; Alfred Guillaume, Editors, *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 303; Julian Obermann, "Islamic Origins: A Study in Background and Foundation," *The Arab Heritage,* Editor, Nabih Amīn Faris (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944), p. 59 ff.

61. Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha,* Vol. I, pp. 521-522.

62. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 523; cf. also Shah Walīullāh, *Al-Fauz al-Kabīr fi usūl al-tafsir,* Urdu Trans. Mawlavi Rashīd Ahmad Ansarī (Delhi: Maktaba-i-Burhan, 1955), p. 16.

63. Cf. *The Holy Scriptures* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), Leviticus 18:26; pp. 156-158.

64. *Ibid.*

65. The problem of multiple cultural and sovereign entities of Moslems in our own century became the central theme of the thought of Zia Gok Alp, the most important thinker of modern Turkey, in the context of the question of Turkish identity. Cf. Rahman, *op. cit.,* p. 45.

66. Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha,* Vol. I, p. 568.

67. *Ibid.,* p. 524. 68. *Ibid.,* p. 525. 69. *Ibid.,* p. 526.

70. *Ibid.,* p. 520.

71. *Ibid.,* p. 569. Justice Ameer Ali developed the same argument in the early twentieth century. Cf. Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam* (London: Christophers Publishers, 1955). Ch. I, pp. 1-41, Ameer Ali's thesis finds justification for the emergence of Islam in the moral necessity of destroying the corrupt socio-economic structure of the Byzantine Empire and Persia.

72. Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha,* Vol. I, pp. 570-571.

73. *Ibid.,* p. 261. 74. *Ibid.,* p. 386.

75. *Ibid.,* p. 373; cf. Rahman, *op. cit.,* p. 47.

76. Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha,* Vol. I, pp. 374-376.

77. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, pp. 377-379; cf. Rahman, *op. cit.,* p. 47.

78. Shah Walīullāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha,* Vol. I, p. 288.

79. Sindhi, *op. cit.,* p. 33; cf. Rahman, *op. cit.,* p. 48.

80. Shah Waluīllāh, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha,* Vol. I, p. 524.

81. *Ibid.,* p. 111.

82. Shah Walīullāh, *Tafhīmāt-i-Illahyā* (Cawnpore: 1895), p. 50.

83. *Ibid.,* pp. 51-2.

84. *Ibid.,* pp. 53-54; cf. *Hujjatullah al-Baligha,* Vol. I, pp. 114-116.

85. *Ibid.,* pp. 116-117. 86. Sindhi, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

87. *Ibid.,* pp. 154-155. 88. Cf. Ikram, *Raod-i-Kother,* pp. 388-389.

89. Muhammad Husain Azad, *Aāb-i-Hayāt,* p. 443.

90. *Ibid.,* p. 69; Rahman Ali, *Tādhkirā-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hind* (Lucknow: Noal Kishor Press, 1914), p. 122.

91. For explanation see Appendix A
92. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 72; *Shahīd* means a martyr.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
95. Before Shah 'Abdūl Azīz died, he willed that the Moghul sovereign should not be allowed to attend his funeral prayers. Cf. Zahīr-ud-Din Saiyad Ahmad, ed. *Majmū'a Kamalāt-i-Azīzī* (Delhi: Khawja Burki Press, n.d.), Vol. 1, p. 23.
96. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
97. Charles J. Rogers, "On the Coins of the Sikhs," *J.A.S.B.* (Calcutta: 1881), Nos. 1-4, p. 78; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102, "The route is still familiarly known as *Ghulū Gharā* (great disaster)."
98. Rodger, "On the Coins of the Sikhs," p. 79.
99. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 107; for a detailed study of the history of the twelve *misls* see, Syad Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., 1899), pp. 296-345.
100. Sir Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), p. 162.
101. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 140, 381-2; George Batley Scott, *Religion and Short History of the Sikhs* (London: Mitre Press, 1930), p. 41.
102. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 31, fn. 1.
103. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.
104. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
105. The single case of a Moslem obtaining the honorary rank of a captain in the English army of India was Captain Hidāyat Ali, who was sponsored by Colonel Rattray during the war of 1857. Cf. William Wilson Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans* (London: Trubner & Co., 1871), p. 156, fn. 2.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 158, fn. 3. On August 12, 1765, the *farman* of Emperor Shah 'Alām, granted the *dīwāni* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company. "The Company thus in theory became the Mughal's revenue-agent for these provinces, paying him a lump sum of 260,000 pounds per annum." Cf. Muir, *op, cit.*, pp. 78, 84-85.
107. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 159; cf. A. District Officer, "The Policy of the New Rent Law for Bengal and Behar," *The Calcutta Review* (Calcutta: 1881), Vol. LXXII, p. 164.
108. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 164, fn. 2; for a detailed study of the changes in the judicial system, the mode of recruitment of the judges, their salaries, their numbers, see "Statement submitted by the Court of Nizamut justice, and the statements submitted by the Court of Suddar Dewanny Adawlut, relative to the administration of civil justice in the Territories subject to the government of Bengal, during the year 1843," *Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, January-June, 1845, p. 165 ff.
110. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
111. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-167.
112. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-171.
113. Hunter indicates that the letter was not contradicted; *Ibid.*, p. 172, fn. 2.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
116. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
117. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 140. The exact date on which this decree was issued could not be ascertained. It is probable, however, that it was issued in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER VI

1. Ghūlām Rasūl Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, (Lahore: Kitāb Mānzil, probable date 1956), p. 56.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 59; Abul Hassan Ali Nadwi, *Sīrat Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd* (Lahore: Khawja Book Dept., 1958), p. 79.

3. Mehr, *op cit.*, p. 59.

4. The word *bai'a* is derived from *ba'a*, to buy or sell; *bai'a* in ordinary and legal language means a mutual undertaking. The caliphs used to require an oath embodying a formal declaration of assent to a compact. Thus he who took the oath of *bai'a* recognized the rights of the caliph over the Moslems and undertook to obey his orders whether or not they were agreeable to his own interests. He placed his hand in the hand of the caliph when pledging his faith to confirm the undertaking, just as do buyers and sellers. In mystic orders the disciple takes the *bai'a* or tenders an oath of allegiance to his guide in exactly the same manner as if he were undertaking allegiance to the caliph. Cf. Alfred Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 164.

5. Mehr, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

6. Ghūlām Rasūl Mehr, *Jamā't-i-Mūjahādīn* (Lahore: Kitab Manzil, 1955), p. 111.

7. Hakīm Momin Khan Momin, *Farsi Dīwān*. The Punjab University, Lahore, MS. Panegyrics IV, V, VI.

8. Muhammad Isma'īl Shahīd, *Mansāb-i-Imamāt* (Lahore: Goshā-i-Adāb, Anarkali, 1555), pp. 41-42.

9. Muhammad Isma'īl Shahīd, *Sirāt-al-Mūstaqīm* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, n.d.), pp. 368-370.

10. Muhammad Isma'īl Shahīd, *Mansāb-i-Imamāt*, pp. 90-92.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

12. Henry George Keene, *Hindustan Under Free Lances 1770-1820* (London: Brown, Langham and Co., 1907), p. 167.

13. Horace Hayman Wilson, *The History of British India From 1805 to 1835* (London: James Madden Publishers, 1865), Vol. II, p. 255.

14. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, p. 107; Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111; cf. Keene, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

15. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 83, fn. I, p. 90.

16. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 122.

17. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi says that before Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd started on the tour, Shah 'Abdūl Azīz made him wear his special robe. Cf. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

18. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, p. 128.

19. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-148. It is interesting to note the judgment of an English author, William Wilson Hunter, who writes about Shahīd's movement exactly forty years after his death. "Bandit as he [Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd] had been, imposter as he or his immediate disciples eventually became, I cannot help the conviction that there was an intermediate time in Saiyad Ahmad's life when his soul yearned with a great pain for the salvation of his countrymen, and when his heart turned singly to God." Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

20. Saiyad Muhammad Ali, *Makhzān-i-Ahmadī* (Agra: Matb'a Mufīd-i-'Aām, 1882), pp. 56-57.

21. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, p. 183.

22. For the full text of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's decree and the religio-juridical opinions of Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī and Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd on the question of *jihād* see Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, p. 181; Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-220.

23. A map indicating the route and points of major stoppage has been added to avoid unnecessary and detailed description of the journey. (See pages 155-156). For a detailed account see Nadwi, *op. cit.*, Chapters X, XI, pp. 227-310; Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, Chapters XVII, XVIII, pp. 187-200.

24. Cf. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Mehr, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-216, 219. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-276; in Calcutta 1000 Moslems for two months took the oath of *bai'a* at the hand of Shahīd.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 291-294. 26. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, p. 220.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 231. 28. *Ibid.*, p. 233; Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

29. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, pp. 240; Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

30. Hunter, *opp cit.*, p. 140. 31. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

32. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, p. 307.

33. William Kerr Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 64, 66.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 68. However, Saiyad Muhammad Latīf says it was Kamran who had put Fath Khan to death. Latīf, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

35. Fraser-Tytler, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

36. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1940), Vol. I, p. 393.

37. After the death of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd in 1831, Shaikh Khās Ali, one of his followers, was captured by Major R. Leech, C.B., the British political agent in Kandahar (Afghanistan). In 1837, under the instructions of Major Leech, Shaikh Khās Ali prepared a complete breakdown of the annual tribute paid to Ranjit Singh by each *khan;* cf. *J.R.A.S.B.* (Calcutta: 1845), Vol. XIV, pp. 736-746.

38. Latīf, *op. cit.*, p. 460. 39. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, p. 235.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 328. 41. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

42. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 540; Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, p. 343. For a negatively biased description of Shahīd's successful tour in the hills of the frontier see Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

43. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 456. 44. *Ibid.*, p. 460.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 461-462. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, pp. 356-358. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 211 is wrong when he says, "at Akora he [Budh Singh] fought Syad Ahmad Shah and defeated him." He concedes however, that the Sikh General lost five hundred men.

46. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, pp. 364-365.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 373-374. 48. *Ibid.*, p. 433.

49. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 357, for the names of other notables, numbering thirty-two in all, who were individually addressed by Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd; cf. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, pp. 434-435.

50. Mehr, *Jamā't-i-Mūjahādīn*, pp. 189-190.

51. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, pp. 436-437; cf. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

52. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, pp. 381-382.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 385. 54. *Ibid.*, p. 391. 55. Latīf, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

56. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, part II, pp. 55-56. 57. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

58. Ghūlām Rasūl Mehr holds a diametrically opposite view to what this author considers the natural corollary of Shahīd's Caliphate, vis. the transfer of power

could flow only toward him. Cf. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, Part II, page 64-65. Mawlana 'Obaid Ullāh Sindhi regards the assumption of caliphal power by Shahīd as a distinct break with Delhi which was the real center of the movement. He maintains that instead of Shah 'Abdūl Azīz's designated "surveillance committee" for the supervision of the movement's ideological purity, Shahīd's individual authority became supreme, which from his viewpoint, was a blunder. He suspects that the British East India Company might have had a hand in this change. Cf. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 91, fn. 1. In view of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd's character and his attitude towards the British Sindhi's suspicion seems to be rather farfetched.

59. Mehr, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 186. 60. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 219. 62. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 96, fn. 2.
63. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, Part II, p. 82. 64. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134; Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
66. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, Part II, p. 155. 67. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 175. 179-80; cf. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Latīf, op. *cit.*, p. 441.
69. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, Part II, pp. 202-204.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 228. 71. *Ibid.*, p. 238. 72. *Ibid.*, p. 273.
73. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
74. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, Part II, pp. 283-288.
75. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 102; cf. Mehr, *Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd*, Part II, p. 292.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 280. 77. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-282. 78. *Ibid.*, pp. 297-298.
79. Latīf, *op. cit.*, p. 443; cf. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
80. Mehr, *Jamā't-i-Mūjahadīn*, pp. 174-177. 81. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
82. "The Wahhabis in India," *The Calcutta Review*, (Calcutta: 1870), Vol. LI, No. CI, p. 186, fn. I. Mawlavi Muhammad Qasim was a native of Panipat near Delhi; he remained active in the war until he was arrested by the British. He died in prison about 1851 or 1852.
83. Dr. Mahmud Husain, "The Mystery of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's Death," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, July 1955), Vol. III, Part III, p. 168. Hereafter, the journal will be referred to as *J.P.H.S.*
84. Mawlavi Wilayat Ali, "Da'wāt," *Majmū'ah Tis'āh Rasā'il*, Ed. Mawlana 'Abdur Rahmān, (Anbala: Balali Steam Press, n.d.), pp. 66-67.
85. Aslam Siddiqi, "Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's End," *Islamic Culture*, (Hyderabad-Deccan: October, 1948), Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 383.
86. H. W. Bellew, *Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1862), p. 84.
87. "The Wahhabis in India," *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. LI, No. CI., p. 189.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 189. 89. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
90. Mas'ud 'Alām Nadwi, *Hindūstān kī Pahli Islami Tahrīk*, (Rawalpindi: Maktabā-i-Miliyā, 1948), p. 62.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 64. 92. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 22. 93. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
94. Colonel John Adye, *Sitana: A Mountain Campaign on the Borders of Afghanistan in 1863* (London: Richard Bentley, 1867), pp. 66-68.
95. Thomas Patrick Hughes, *The Dictionary of Islam* (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1885), p. 661.

96. D. S. Margoliouth, "Wahhabiya," *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (London: Luzac and Co., 1934), Vol. IV, p. 1090.

97. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 59. 98. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 60. 100. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 689.

101. Julius Germanus, *Modern Movements in Islam* (Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 1932), p. 13 ff.

102. J. O'Kineally, "Translation of an Arabic Pamphlet on the History and Doctrines of the Wahhābīs, written by 'Abdullāh, the Grandson of 'Abdūl Wahhāb, the Founder of Wahhābīsm," *J.A.S.B.* (Calcutta: 1874), Part I, No. I, p. 77.

103. *Shirk* is not only identifying animate or inanimate objects with God, but also praying to others than God.

104. O'Kineally, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

105. Cf. Mawlana Muhammad Isma'īl Shahīd, *Tāqviat-al-Imān* (Lahore: Maktab'a-ul-Islam, Wasan Pura, 1956), Fasal II, p. 34 ff. on shirk; *Sirāt-al-Mūstaqīm* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, n.d.) Chapter II, concerning paying benedictions to shrines. The latter work contains the ideas of Saiyad Ahmad Shahīd, but was written by Mawlana Isma'īl Shahīd and Mawlana 'Abdūl Haī.

106. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

107. The Delhi College was exclusively maintained by the Moslem community of Delhi. It is not known whether Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Moghul sovereign, also subsidized it. On December 3, 1824, the British government granted Rs. 600 a month for the instruction of Moslem youth, and on July 14, 1826 increased the grant to Rs. 1,000 a month. On October 18, 1827, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Resident and Chief Commissioner of the Upper Provinces, strongly recommended adding English classes to the Delhi College. In April, 1834, an English class was attached to it.

In 1830 Itimad-ud-Daulah Saiyad Fazal Ali Khan, Minister of the King of Oudh, executed a will whereby he left Rs. 170,000 in trust with the British government. He wished that the five percent interest on these government securities be spent "solely for the instruction of the sciences in Arabic and Persian," in the Delhi College.

The Delhi College educated Moslem modernists like Mawlavi Zaka Ullāh of Delhi and Mawlavi Nazīr Ahmad. It was through their efforts and the efforts of their leader, Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan, that the Moslem nation was exposed to western culture. The Delhi College was destroyed during the 1857 wars by the British government as a punishment to the Delhi Moslem community, and it was never reopened. Ra'īs Ahmad Ja'ffāri, *Bahadur Shah Zafar Awr ūn Ka'Ahd* (Lahore: Kitab Manzil, 1955), p. 508; S. C. Sanial, "The Itimad-ud-Daulah Institution at Delhi," *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, Deccan: April, 1930), Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 310-311.

108. Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Religious Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan* (Lahore Institute of Islamic Culture, 1957), p. 55.

109. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, Appendix XXXXII, pp. 120, 225; Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanvi (died in 1943), whose followers supported the Pakistan national movement, was the leader of the dissident faction of Mawlana Shaikh Muhammad of Thana. Recently some of the followers and disciples of Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanvi have claimed that the concept of Pakistan was originated by him, and was later on adopted by the Moslem League leaders. Cf. Mūnshī 'Abdūr Rahmān

Khan, *Ta'mīr-i-Pakistan Awr 'Ulamā'-i-Rabbānī* (Multan: Idārā Nashr-ul-Ma'rif, 1956), p. 50.

110. Mawlana Saiyad Muhammad Mian, *'Ulamā'-i-Haq Awr Un Kāy Mujahid-dānā Karnāmy* (Delhi: Delhi Printing Press, 1946), Vol. I, p. 72.

111. Sindhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.

112. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, pp. 173-174.

113. For a detailed account of the leaders of each phase see Mian, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

114. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress (1885-1935)* (Madras: Law Printing House, 1935), p. 17.

115. Prosanto Kumar Sen, *Biography of a New Faith* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1950), p. 131.

116. Manilal C. Parekh, *The Brahma Samaj* (Bombay: At the Vaibhav Press, 1929), pp. 4-5.

117. "Persian was the court language of the day, and had to be learnt, together with Arabic, by all who claimed to have a gentleman's education . . . He [Raja Rammohan Roy] was sufficiently advanced, in his ninth year, to be sent to Patna for higher studies in Arabic. This city was then the centre of Islamic culture in India." Nalin C. Ganguly, *Raja Ram Mohun Roy* (Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1934), p. 5.

118. C. F. Andrews; Girija Mukerji, *The Rise and Growth of the Congress in India* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938), pp. 26-27.

119. Cf. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.

120. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 27; Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

123. Mian, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

125. Rev. C. G. Pfander, was known in Iran and India for his two books *Mizan-ul-Haqq* and *Miftah-ul-Asrar*. The former was originally written in Persian, but was translated into Urdu. In this book Dr. Pfander asserts that the Prophet Muhammad is not the Apostle of God, and that the Qur'an is not the word of God. In *Miftah-ul-Asrār*, he endeavors to "establish the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ and the Trinity upon the foundation of the Christian scriptures." Also for an account of the Christian missionaires' proselytizing activities among the Moslems in India in the middle of the nineteenth century see, Rev. Elwood Morris Wherry, *Islam and Christianity in India and the Far East* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1907), pp. 160-161 ff.

Chapter VII

1. Mirza Farhat Ullāh Beg, *Delhi Kā Akhari Yadgār Mūsha'irā* (Lahore: Shaikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1953), p. 10.

2. Charles F. Andrews, *Zaka Ullāh of Delhi* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1929), p. 13.

3. John Malcolm Ludlow, *British India: Considered with Reference to the Mutinies of 1857* (Cambridge: MacMillan & Co., 1857), Vol. II, p. 91.

4. Vincent Arthur Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 658.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 659.

6. John William Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War* (London: Longmans Green

and Company, 1896), pp. 103-109, Ill.

7. Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23; cf. Asoka Mehta, 1857: *The Great Rebellion* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Publishers, 1945), p. 20.

8. Dr. James Wise, "The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal," p. 48.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

10. Colonel G. B. Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny 1857-1859* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896), Vol. II, p. 541.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 544. 12. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

13. In 1857 the total military strength of the East India Company was 238,000, of whom 38,000 were Europeans. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 666.

14. Kaye, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 217.

15. Sir Colin Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian Revolt* (London: George Vickers, 1858), p. 9.

16. Kaye, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 190-191.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 472. This circular letter was issued under the signature of Rev. E. Edwards. For its full text and the communique issued by the British government in Calcutta, disassociating itself from the proselytizing activities of the missionaries, see Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan, Asbāb-i-Baghāwāt-i-Hind (Aligarh: University Publishers, 1958), pp. 77 ff; p. 81 ff.

18. Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan, *Asbāb-i-Baghāwāt-i-Hind*, p. 43.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

20. The cartridges were smeared with grease and had to be bitten off before insertion into the rifle. The order to bite was rescinded and the men were allowed to provide their own grease. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 667.

21. Kay, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 76. 22. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Henry Frederick Malcolm, *India and the Indian Mutiny* (Philadelphia: J. W. Bradley, 1859), p. 351.

25. In Peshawar the 24th, 27th and 51st Native Infantry and the 5th Light Cavalry were all disaffected. They had arranged to rise and massacre the English on May 22. On that day they were disarmed. The men had accumulated a large store of private arms. These also were seized. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

26. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 669.

27. For a detailed account of the actions of the Sikh chiefs at the siege of Delhi, and their role in fighting against the rebels in Oudh and Maharashtra, see Lepel H. Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices* (Lahore: Chronicle Press, 1865), pp. 27, 355 ff; Griffin, *The Rajas of the Punjab* (London: Trubner & Co., 1873) pp. 213, 355.

28. Ludlow, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 90. 29. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

30. Kaye, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 36.

31. Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (London: Bodley Head, 1955), p. 460.

32. The All India National Congress was, of course, the brain child of an Englishman. "No Indian," said Mr. G. K. Gokhale, one of the early patriarchs of the Congress, in London in 1913, "could have started the Indian National Congress . . . If the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishman and a distinguished ex-official, such was the distrust of political agitation in those days, that the authorities would have at once found some way or the other of

suppressing the movement." Andrews, *The Rise and Growth of the Congress in India*, p. 121.

33. Mawlana Iltāf Husain Halī, *Hayāt-i-Jawid* (Lahore: Academy Punjab Trust, 1957), p. 259.

34. It is interesting to note that Mahatma Gandhi who was born on October 2, 1869, exactly half a century after Saiyad Ahmad Khan, should have believed, as late as 1920, "that the British Empire existed for the welfare of the world." Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiment With Truth*, (Boston: Beacon Hill, 1957). p. 313.

35. Halī, *op. cit.*, p. 671.

36. J. M. S. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Saiyyad Ahmad Khan* (Lahore, Orientalia Publishers, 1958), p. 15.

37. Halī, *op. cit.*, p. 873. 38. Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

39. Lieut.-Col. M. L. Ferrar, "India," *Whither Islam*, ed. Hamilton A. R. Gibb, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1932) p. 182.

40. Halī, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

41. Saiyad Ahmad Khan, *Asbāb-i-Baghāwāt-i-Hind*, p. 39.

42. Halī, *op. cit.*, pp. 316, 320; A. H. Albiruni, *Makers of Pakistan and Muslim India* (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1950), p. 41.

43. "Un ko ab bī yahī khawf thā ka jo chīz Bengaliūn ki liberty samjhī jatī hai, wo Musālmānon mein aā ker mutiny no bān jai" Hali, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

44. Baljon, *op. cit.*, p. 43. 45. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

46. Andrews, *Zaka Ullāh of Delhi*, p. 79. 47. Halī, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 467.

49. Although it was a Moslem college, Hindus, Parsees and Christians could also and did enter the college. There was no interference with their religious practice. *Ibid.*, p. 426.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 446. 51. *Ibid.*, pp. 440-441.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 429-430; Baljon, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

53. For a detailed description of the efforts made by the All-India Muhammadan Education Conference for the promotion of Aligarh College to university status, see Saiyad 'Abdūl Latīf, "The Moslem University Movement," *The Indian Review* (Madras: May, 1916), Vol. XVII, pp. 332-335.

54. Halī, *op. cit.*, p. 305. 55. *Ibid.*, pp. 667-668.

56. 'Abdūl Majīd Sālik, *Sar Guzāsht* (Lahore: Qōmi Kutb Khana, 1955), pp. 16-17.

57. *Taqlīd* means "clothing with authority in matters of religion," the adoption of the utterances or actions of the *mujtahids* as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating reasons. In this sense *taqlīd* is the opposite of *ijtahād*.

According to the general orthodox Moslem view, all scholars and laymen were bound to acknowledge *taqlīd* as regards earlier *mujtahids* (jurists) in Islamic jurisprudence. Therefore, no one was considered qualified to give a verdict of his own in the field of jurisprudence, independent of that of the earlier authorities in law. By and large Moslem scholars had ceased to exercise *ijtahād* by the end of the third Islamic century. In India, Shah Walīullāh was the first thinker to challenge the doctrine of *taqlīd*. Cf. Houtsma, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 630, cf. Khadduri, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

58. Rev. S. Lee, *Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohommedanism* (Cambridge: University Press, 1824).

59. Rev. Charles Foster, *Mahommedanism Unveiled* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1829).

60. "The Mahommedan Controversy," *The Calcutta Review* (Calcutta: July-December, 1845), Vol. IV, p. 420.

61. William Muir, *The Life of Mahomet* (London: Smith Elden & Co., 1859), Vol. I, p. III.

62. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 322.

63. Sir William Muir; J. M. Mitchell, *Two Old Faiths* (New York: Chautauqua Press, 1891), pp. 83, 129, 130.

64. This is a principle of Islamic scholars which refers to those passages in the Qur'an where the Prophet Muhammad, in reply to criticism and ridicule from the Jews that his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures must be defective, answered that the people of the Book had twisted (*harrafa*) the scriptures for their secular purposes. In establishing the *tahrif* doctrine, however, Moslem scholars disagreed among themselves. Some of them (al-Biruni, Ibn Hazm) understood it as a real alteration of the text by the Jews and Christians. However, other Moslem scholars (Tabri, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, Ibn Khaldun) confine it to erroneous interpretation of the texts.

65. Baljon, *op. cit.*, p. 102; cf. Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Religious Thought of Saiyyad Ahmad Khan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1957), pp. 96-97.

66. Saiyad Ahmad Khan, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* (Aligarh: March 25; May 26, 1895), pp. 10, 15.

67. Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

68. Muhammad Daud Rahbar, "Sir Saiyyad Ahmad Khan's Principles of Exegesis: Translated from his Tahrīr Fī 'Usūl al-Tafsīr," *The Muslim World* (Hartford, Connecticut: April, 1956), Vol. XLVI, No. II, p. 105.

69. *Eminent Mussalmans* (Madras: G. A. Natesan & Co., 1926), pp. 30-31.

70. D. V. Tahmankar, *Lokamanya Tilak* (London: John Murray, 1956), p. 55.

71. Theodore L. Shay, *The Legacy of the Lokamanya* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 73.

72. Victor Barnouw, "The Changing Character of a Hindu Festival," *American Anthropologist* (Wisconsin: February, 1954), No. I, Vol. 56, p. 81.

73. The reference is to the murder of Afzal Khan, the Moslem commander of the King of Bijapur, whom Shivaji lured into a solitary parley and then killed by plunging into his bowels the famous tiger's claw, a hooked gauntlet of steel, while Maratha forces sprang out of ambush and cut the Moslem army to pieces.

74. Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1910), p. 46.

75. Mohammad Noman, *Muslim India: Rise and Growth of the All India Muslim League* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1942), pp. 60-61.

76. Indra Prakasha, *Where We Differ: The Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha* (New Delhi: Hindu Mission Pustak Bhandar, 1942), p. 18.

77. Satyapal; Prabodh Chandra, *Sixty Years of Congress* (Lahore: Lion Press, 1946), p. 160.

78. The deputation consisted of thirty-six members and represented every province and every class of educated Moslems. Noman, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

79. Mrs. Razi Wasti, "Early Years of the All-India Moslem League (1906-10),"

Journal of Pakistan Historical Society (Karachi: October, 1961), Vol. IX, Part IV, p. 248.

80. Sir John Cumming, *Political India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 93.

81. Azim Hussain, *Fazl-i-Hussain: A Political Biography* (Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1946), p. 186.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 187. 83. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

Chapter VIII

1. George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1939), pp. 140-141.

2. Muhammad Sarwar, *T'alimāt Mawlana 'Obāid Ullāh Sindhi* (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1955), p. 129.

3. Mian, *op. cit.*, p. 146. 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-134.

5. Antonius, *op. cit.*, p. 200. 6. Mian, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

7. Cf. Saiyyad Husain Ahmad Madni, *Naqsh-i-Hayāt* (Deoband: Maktaba-i-Dīnyā, 1954), Vol. II, pp. 232-235.

8. Antonius, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-79. 9. Mian, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

10. Mawlana 'Obāid Ullāh Sindhi, *Kabul Mein Sāt Sāl* (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1955), p. 24-26.

11. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, p. 152; Sindhi, *Kabul Mein Sāt Sāl*, p. 42.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-62. 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-64.

Shaikh 'Abdūr Rahīm was the elder brother of Acharya Kripalani, the celebrated Indian socialist leader. He had embraced Islam and was active in proselytizing in Sindh. He was a friend of Mawlana 'Obāid Ullāh Sindhi. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 75, fn. 1.

14. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, p. 158.

15. Sindhi, *Kabul Mein Sāt Sāl*, p. 88.

16. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 319. 17. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

18. Abul Kalam Azad, *Masla'-i-Khilāfat* (Lahore: Maktaba'-i-Ahbāb Wasanpura, n.d.), pp. 19, 22, 25.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40. 20. *Ibid.*, p. 44. 21. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-81.

23. Cf. also 'Abdūl Halīm Sharer, *Tarikh-i-Khilāfat* (Lucknow: Dilgudaz Press, 1928), pp. 18-19.

24. Azad, *Masla'-i-Khilāfat*, pp. 183-184.

25. Saiyad Tufail Ahmad Manglori, *Mūsalmānon Ka Roshān Mūstāqbil*, (Delhi: Matba'-i-'Ilmī, 1945), p. 273.

26. Azad, *Masla'-i-Khilāfat*, p. 187. 27. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-192.

28. Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Boston: Beacon Hill, 1957), p. 441.

29. M. K. Gandhi, *How to Serve the Cow* (Ahmadabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1954), p. 4.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

31. "I have been telling Mawlana Shaukat Ali all along," said Gandhi in a speech at the Cow Protection Conference in Belgium, "that I was helping him to save his cow, i.e. the Khilafat, because I hoped to save my cow thereby." *Ibid.*, p. 15.

32. Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiments With Truth*, p. 442.
33. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 323.
34. Both Hindus and Moslems were urged to boycott foreign manufactured cloth for their dress and to wear clothes made of indigenous material. This aspect of the Movement was called *Swedeshi*, i.e. literally, pertaining to one's own country.
35. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
36. The Caliphate Committee in a conference held at Delhi in November, 1919, had already adopted Gandhi's advice along these lines. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
37. Azad, *Masala'-i-Khilāfat*, p. 298.
38. Sura LX: 8, 9; Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1955), Vol. III.
39. Azad, *Masala'-i-Khilāfat*, p. 300.
40. For Abul Kalam Azad's verdict on migration, see Appendix B.
41. Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, p. 442. While the Caliphate leaders and Gandhi were asking the President of Aligarh College to shut the college down, the Benares Hindu University was throwing its gates open to the Prince of Wales, who was on a royal visit to India. A. B. Rajput, *Moslem League: Yesterday and Today* (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1948), p. 38.
42. Cumming, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Noman, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.
43. Some Moslem writers have gone too far in pinning the blame for the Caliphate fiasco on Hindu leaders. For instance, it has been alleged that the Hindu leaders' cooperation in the Khilafat movement was not sincere, that they joined it presumably to achieve their own ends and that the Ali Brothers [Mawlana Muhammad and Shawkat Ali] and the Khilafatists became unsuspecting victims to Gandhi's plans without trying to examine what he was driving them to. Sharif Al-Mujahad, "Maulana Muhammad Ali: A Political Study," *Pakistan Quarterly* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, Winter, 1955), Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 58-59.
44. V. G. Kiernan, *Poems from Iqbal* (London: John Murray, 1955), p. xv.
45a. F. K. Khan Durrani, *The Meaning of Pakistan* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1946), p. 156; Durrani gives the full text of Dr. Iqbal's Allahabad address as an appendix to his book, pp. 150-167.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 156. 46. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
47. S. A. Vahid, *Introduction to Iqbal* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.), p. 40.
48. Durrani, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
49. 'Abdūs Salam Khurshīd, "Muslim Tūlbā Ki Tahrīk 24 Sāl Pahlāy: Iqbal, Pakistan, awr Muslim Tūlbā", *The Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* (Lahore: April 21, 1961), Special Issue, p. 1.
50. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1958), p. 155.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 154. 52. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
53. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, *Asrār-i-Khudi: The Secret of the Self*, trans. Reynold A. Nicholson (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1944), pp. 7-8, lines 85-90.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90; lines 1019-1025.
55. Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *Javid-Namah* (Lahore: Shaikh Mubarak Ali, 1932), p. 40.
56. Kiernan, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

57. Syed Abdul Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1944), p. 1.

58. Dr. M. Aziz Ahmad, "Iqbal's Political Theory," *Iqbal As a Thinker* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1944), p. 239.

59. "He was not intellectually a Socialist. . . . Not being a scientific Socialist, Iqbal was at least a moral one." Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (Lahore: Ripon Printing Press, 1947), p. 128.

60. Dr. Khalīfa 'Abdūl Hakīm, *Fikr-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, n.d.), p. 255.

61. Shah Walīullāh held the same view, and Iqbal seems to have been influenced by him in this regard.

62. 'Abdūl Hakīm, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

63. Kiernan, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Iqbal, *Zarb-i-Kalīm* (Lahore: Shaikh Mubarak Ali, 1946), p. 139.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 138; Kiernan, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 42; Iqbal, *Bāl-i-Jibrīl* (Lahore: Shaikh Mubarak Ali, 1946) pp. 144-147.

66. Cantwell Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

67. Kiernan, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Iqbal, *Bāl-i-Jibrīl*, p. 149.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 161; Kiernan, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

69. Khan A. Ahmad, *The Founder of Pakistan* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1942), p. 2.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 3. 71. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

72. C. Rahmat Ali, *The Millat of Islam and the Menace of Indianism* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1940), p. 7.

73. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *India Through the Ages* (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1928), p. 3.

74. C. Rahmat Ali, *What Does the Pakistan National Movement Stand For* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1933), p. 4.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

76. Most of the money-lending of the Punjab was in the hands of three Hindu castes: the *Bania* or *Aggarwal*, the *Khatri*, and the *Arora*. Broadly speaking, they may be said to have partitioned the province between themselves. South of the Satlaj the *Bania* prevailed; in the central Punjab the *Khatri*, and throughout the west *Arora*. Cf. Sir Malcolmn Darling, *The Punjab Peasant* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 176.

77. The usual interest rates charged by the Hindu money-lender "varied from 18¾ to 37½ percent." The money-lender was not so powerful before the British, but the English courts removed all the social restraints that curbed his rates. Under British protection "the money-lenders multiplied and prospered exceedingly, so much that the number of bankers and money lenders (including their dependents) increased from 53,263 in 1868 to 193,890 in 1911." *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 175, 180.

78. Rahmat Ali, *What Does the Pakistan National Movement Stand For*, p. 6.

79. Rahmat Ali, *The Millat of Islam and the Menace of Indianism*, p. 9.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 12. 81. *Ibid.*, p. 11. 82. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

83. Sarojini Naidu, *Mohomed Ali Jinnah, An Ambassador of Unity: His Speeches and Writings*, 1912-1917 (Madras: Ganesh Publishers, 1918), p. 7.

84. Here a distinction ought to be noted between a "nationalist Moslem," and

a "Moslem nationalist." The former was a believer in the creation of a Hindu-Moslem nation in a united India. The latter was a believer in the creed of Pakistani nationalism, for him a "Hindu-Moslem nation" was a chimera.

85. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (London: John Murray, 1954), p. 12.

86. Tejumal K. Shahani, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (Bombay: R. K. Moody Publishers, 1929), pp. 352-353.

87. Balitho, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

88. Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1953), p. 64.

89. Bolitho, *op. cit.*, p. 83; S. Abdul Lateef, *The Great Leader* (Lahore: Lion Press, 1949), p. 34.

90. According to Gandhi, *Satyagraha* means holding on to truth, hence it is truthforce. "I have also called it," says Gandhi, "love-force or soul-force. In the application of *Satyagraha*, I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent, but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy . . . so the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's own self." M. K. Gandhi, *The Science of Satyagraha* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1957), pp. 24-25, 32-33.

91. M. K. Gandhi, *Non-Violence In Peace and War* (Ahmadabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1942), Vol. I, pp. 4, 7.

92. Bolitho, *op. cit.*, p. 84. 93. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

94. Saiyid, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

95. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, *Speeches and Writings of Jinnah* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1943), p. 37.

96. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1956), p. 14.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18. 98. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-24.

99. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore: Longmans, Green & Co., 1961), pp. 160-161.

100. Sir Percival Joseph Griffiths, *The British Impact on India* (London: Macdonald and Co., 1952), p. 340.

101. *Bande Mataram* (literally, I revere the Mother land) is a song which contributed in no small measure to the embitterment of the Moslems against the Hindus. The song occurs in Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel *Ananda Math*, published in 1882 in Calcutta. Bhavananda, the hero of the novel, is planning an armed revolt against the Moslem power in Bengal about 175 years ago. He is collecting volunteers and on this mission he meets one Mahendra. Bhavananda hums the song *Bande Mataram* to him, and asks him to join the army of liberation. "Can the Hindus preserve their Hinduism unless these drunken *nereys* [a term of contempt for Moslems] are driven away," asks Bhavananda. Mahendra points out that Moslems are strong and brave, but Bhavananda maintains that Moslems are cowards. He says that the Englishman does not run away from the battle even when his life is in danger but that the Moslem runs away as soon as he begins to perspire.

In Part II, chapter V of the novel the process of initiation of the volunteers into the rebel army is described. Each one vows to renounce, as long as the Mother (India) is not liberated, all worldly ties and to hold "arms with my own

hands and fight for the *Sanatan Dharma*." Then each is commanded to sing *Bande Mataram*, to seal the vow. The Hindus worked very hard to adopt this song as the Indian national anthem. Cf. Satyapal; Prabodh Chandra, *Sixty Years of Congress* (Lahore: Lion Press, 1946), p. 98.

102. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 70. 103. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

104. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 152. 106. *Ibid.*, p. 153. 107. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 155. Jinnah's arguments from 1940 to 1947 remained essentially the same. He refused to discuss all difficulties of detail and administrative procedure for the establishment of Pakistan. Instead he emphasized the theory that a nation has a right to a homeland. Cf. M. A. Jinnah, "Why a Separate Sovereign State," *Pakistan*, Dr. K. M. Ashraf, Ed. (Delhi: Adabistan, 1940), p. 6; Jinnah, "The Basis of Pakistan," *Whither India*, Iqbal Singh, Ed. (Baroda: Padmaja Publications, 1948), p. 146.

109. Saiyid, *op. cit.*, p. 433. 110. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

111. *Ibid.*, pp. 347-349.

112. Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1959), p. 68.

113. Mahatma Gandhi, *To the Protagonists of Pakistan* (Allahabad: Law Journal Press, 1947), Appendix XIV contains the Cabinet Mission Plan, p. 244.

114. Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 153.

115. Gandhi, *To the Protagonists of Pakistan*, pp. 188-189.

116. Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, pp. 155-156.

117. *Ibid.*, p. 176. 118. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

119. Joseph B. Schechtman, *Population Transfers in Asia* (New York: Hallsby Press, 1949), p. 17.

120. Josef Korbel, *Danger In Kashmir* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), pp. 48-49.

121. Frederick Otto Hertz, *Nationality in History and Politics* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1944), p. 185.

122. Kendric Charles Babcock, *The Rise of American Nationality: 1811-1819* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1906), p. 198.

123. Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1955), pp. 1-2.

124. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, March 20, 1952), Vol. XI, p. 3.

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-10.

126. Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, *Debates*, April 10, 1952, p. 34.

127. *Ibid.*, p. 28. 128. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

129. Faiq Kamrān, *Maghrābī Pakistan: Ayk Tahdhbī Wāhdit* (Lahore: Istaqlal Press, 1955), p. 5-7.

130. Sir Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan* (Lahore: Christopher Johnson Ltd., 1950), p. 11.

131. Sir Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler, "Pakistan Four Thousand Years Ago," *Crescent and Green* (London: Cassell and Company, 1956), p. 15.

132. Sir Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler, "The Archaeology of Pakistan," *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, Ed. S. M. Ikram (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 19.

133. V. Gordon Childe, "Pakistan and the West," *Crescent and Green*, p. 11.

134. From the fusion of Indian and Greek cultures rose the Graeco-Buddhist culture of Gandhara. This culture covered the area which today consists of Afghanistan and the north-western frontier of Pakistan.

135. *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore: August 27, 1955), p. 3.

136. *The Dawn* (Karachi: September 1, 1955), p. 1.

137. *Ibid.* (September 3, 1955), p. 5. 138. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

Chapter IX

1. Mahadev Haribhai Desai, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1941), p. 30.

2. Cf. Azad, *India Wins Freedom,* p. 3; Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

3. For the evolution of Azad's thinking, see also Hafeez Malik, "Abul Kalam Azad's Theory of Nationalism," *The Muslim World* (Hartford: January, 1963).

4. Abul Kalam Azad, *Mudamīn-i Abul Kalam Azad* (Delhi: Hindustani Publishing House, 1944), p. 14.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 22. 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

9. Abd al-Malik Ibn Hisham, *Kitab Sirat Rasul Allah,* Dr. Ferdinand Wustenfeld, Ed. (Gottingen: Dieterichsche Universitats—Buchhandlung, 1858), p. 341.

10. Muir, however, translates it thus: "The Jewish clans in allegiance with the several tribes of Medina are one people with the Believers," Cf. Sir William Muir, *The Life of Muhammad,* T. H. Weir, Ed. (Edinburg: John Grant, 1912), p. 184.

11. Alfred Guillmaume, *The Life of Muhammad,* a translation of Abd al-Malik Ibn Hisham's *Kitab Sirat Rasul Allah* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 232.

12. Abul Kalam Azad, *Khutbāt-i-Abul Kalam Azad* (Lahore: al-Minara Academy, n.d.), p. 42.

13. Shiblī Nu'manī, *Sirāt al-Nabbī* (Azamgarh: Matba'-Ma'rif, 1955) Vol. 1, pp. 421, 433.

14. Azad, *Khutbāt-i Abul Kalam Azad,* p. 44. 15. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 271. 17. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

18. C. Rajagopalachari, "The Great Akbar of Today," *Aspects of Abul Kalam Azad,* 'Abdūllāh Butt, Ed. (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Urdu, 1942), p. 67.

19. Jawaharlal Nehru, "An Universal Politician," *Aspects of Abul Kalam Azad,* p. 32.

20. Azad, *Khutbāt-i-Azad,* p. 317.

21. Mian, *op. cit.*, p. 202. 22. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

23. Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madni, *Muthidā Qomiāt Awr Islam* (Deoband: Majlis-i Qasim-ul-'ulūm, n.d.), pp. 5-6.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 38. 25. Mian, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

26. Muhammad Iqbal, *Armaghān-i-Hedjaz* (Lahore: Shaikh Mubarak Ali, 1948), p. 278.

27. For Jama'āt-i-Islami's role in the politics of Pakistan see a valuable study by Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 70-108. For a very interesting critique of Maw-

lana Maudoodi's political doctrines see Muhammad Sarwar, *Mawlana Maudoodi Kī Tahrik-i-Islami* (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 1956), p. 19 ff.

28. Abul-'alā Maudoodi, *Nationalism and India* (Pathankot: Maktaba-i-Jama 'āt-i-Islami, 1947), p. 10.

29. Abul-'alā Maudoodi, *Masala'-i-Qomiāt* (Pathankot: Maktaba-Jama'āt-i-Islami, 1947), p. 90.

30. Maudoodi, *Nationalism in India*, p. 48. 31. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

32. Maudoodi, *Masala'-i-Qomiāt*, p. 92.

33. Abul-'alā Maudoodi, *Process of Islamic Revolution* (Pathankot: Makataba-Jama'āt-i-Islami, 1947), pp. 23-33.

34. Maudoodi, *Masala'-i-Qomiāt*, p. 103. "Another word that the Qur'an has used for party is *Umma*, says Maudoodi. It is interesting to compare his translation of *Umma* as party with Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad's translation of *Umma* as nation. *Ibid.*, p. 105: .

35. *Awr iss trah hum nay tum ko ayk beych kī Ummat bnaya hai, ta kah tum no'a insāni per nigrān ho, awr Rasūl tum per nigrān ho. Ibid.*, p. 106. Mawlana Maudoodi's translation of *shuhda'ā 'ala al-nās* as the obligation of Moslems "to look after mankind" *(nigrān)* is by no means a generally accepted translation. Not any recognized authority on the Qur'an, as far as this author could ascertain, translates *shuhda'ā* (witness) as *nigrān* (to look after). In Urdu, the language that the Mawlana so masterfully employs, *nigrān* means "looking, beholding, expecting, watchful, attentive . . . also used to keep watch (over), to be watchful (of), to look after." Cf. John Thompson Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1884), p. 1151.

Marmaduke Pickthall, in his *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an* (Hyderabad-Deccan: Government Central Press, 1938), II:43, p. 26, translates the last two lines of the verse thus: "That ye might be witnesses against mankind, and that the Messenger may be witness against you."

Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad translates *shuhda'ā* as *gawahī* (witness): *Ta kah tum insanon kay l'iay (Sachāī'ikī) gawahī daytay ho, awr tumhary Allah ka Rasūl tum per gawahī daynay walla hai.* (You are witness of the Truth for all mankind, and the Apostle is a witness over you.) Abul Kalam Azad, *Tarjuman al-Qur'an* (Lahore: Mushtaq Publishers, n.d.), Vol. I, II: 143; p. 258.

Mawlana Maudoodi himself in his commentary on the Qur'an (1961) translates *shuhda'ā* as *gawahī* (witness): *Awr isi trah to hum nay tumhyn ayk ummat-i-wast bnaya hai, ta kah tum dunya kay lowgown per gawah ho, awr Rasūl tum per gawah ho.* (And in this manner we made you an intermediate *umma*, so that you may be witness over people of the world, and the Apostle a witness over you.) Cf. Abul-'alā Maudoodi, *Tafhīm al-Qur'an* (Lahore: Maktaba T'amīr-i-Insāniat, 1961), Vol. I pp. 118-119.

In contrast with his earlier translation given in *Masala'-i-Qomiāt* (1947), where he presents Moslems as *khudai foujdār* (agents of divine law enforcement), in his Commentary (1961) he describes Moslems as a superior and noble group dedicated to "follow the path of justice and righteousness" and also as examples of correct conduct for mankind. This explanation of the Moslems' position is indeed at variance with the mission of world guardianship assigned to them previously by Maudoodi.

36. Maudoodi, *Masala'-i-Qomiāt*, p. 106.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 108. 38. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-114.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 115; fn. I; Maudoodi, *Islami Hokumāt Kis Tarh Qaim Hotī Hai* (Lahore: Markazi Maktaba-Jama'āt-i-Islami, 1953), p. 7.

40. Maudoodi, *Masala'-i-Qomiāt*, p. 117.

41. Abul-'alā Maudoodi, *Jama'āt-i-Islami: Us ka Maqsad, Tarikh Awr Lahya-i 'Aml* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Jama'āt-i-Islami, 1943), p. 90.

42. *Hamara maqsad m'az musalmanon ki nhyn balkay pūri no'a-i insani ki zindgi ko din-i haq per qay'am karna hai. Ibid.*, pp. 6, 26, 27, 29.

43. Freeland Abbott, "The Jama'āt-i-Islami of Pakistan," *The Middle East Journal* (Washington: Winter, 1957), Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 39.

44. Sarwar, *Mawlana Maudoodi Kī Tahrik-i Islami*, pp. 143-144.

45. Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiment With Truth*, p. 108.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 139. 47. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

48. Mohandas K. Kandhi, *Communal Unity* (Ahmadabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1949), p. 6.

49. Charles Freer Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 35.

50. Bhimrao R. Ambedkar, *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables* (Bombay: Thacker and Co., 1945), pp. 254, 276, 277.

51. Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, p. 224.

52. Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, p. 60.

53. Gandhi, *To the Protagonists of Pakistan*, p. 65.

54. Gandhi, *Communal Unity*, pp. 294-295.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 66. 56. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67. 57. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 6; Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, p. 57.

59. Gandhi had taken the vow of *Brahmacharya* in 1906, which ended carnal relations with his wife. At that time Gandhi was, according to his statement, the father of six children. In the Hindu religion, the renunciation of sexual gratification is the highest form of self-control and human perfection. Describing the satisfaction derived from the vow of *Brahmacharya*, Gandhi stated in his autobiography: "Every day of the vow has taken me nearer the knoweldge that in Brahamcharya lies the protection of the body, the mind and the soul. . . . Every day revealed a fresh beauty in it." Cf. Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, pp. 208-209.

60. Gandhi, *Communal Unity*, p. 7; it should also be noted that "even conservative Hindus will often take uncooked fruit from the hands of Mussalmans and Christians. But to go farther and take cooked food is regarded as breaking caste." Cf. Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, p. 58, fn. 1.

61. Gandhi, *Communal Unity*, p. 8.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9; *Andrews, Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, p. 59.

63. Gandhi, *Communal Unity*, p. 330.

64. Gandhi, *To the Protagonists of Pakistan*, p. 86.

65. Gandhi, *Communal Unity*, p. 291.

66. For the sake of convenience, the Hindu portion of the Marwara clan will be referred to as Rawats, and the Moslem portion as Merats. The term Rawat was, in reality, a title of petty nobility; but it is convenient in as much as all Rawats were Hindus.

67. R. C. Bramley, "The Rawats and Merats of Rajputana," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: June, 1906), New Series, Vol. II, No. VI, p. 213.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 217. 69. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222.
70. Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 61. 71. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, p. 363.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 374. 73. *Ibid.*, p. 382.
74. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Nehru-Jinnah Correspondence* (Allahabad: Law Journal Press, 1939), p. 64.
75. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Recent Essays and Writings* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1937), p. 66.
76. V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1952), Vol. I, Part 2, p. 358.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 385. 78. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
79. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, p. 469.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 471. 81. *Ibid.*, p. 469. 82. *Ibid.*, p. 470.
83. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (New York: The John Day Co., 1946), p. 50.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 386. 85. *Ibid.*, pp. 386-387. 86. *Ibid.*, p. 353.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 357. 88. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
89. Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 257. 90. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 269. 92. *Ibid.*, pp. 270-271. 93. *Ibid.*, p. 397.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 547.
95. Frank Moraes, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1957), p. 313.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 541-542.

Chapter X

1. Carleton Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Nationality* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 302.
2. Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 92.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 95; Ernest Renan, *Poetry of the Celtic Races and Other Studies* (London: Walter Scott, 1896), p. 80.
4. Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
5. Jadunath Sarkar, "Shivaji Letters: From the Persian," *The Modern Review* (Calcutta: January, 1908), No. I, Vol. III, pp. 21-22.
6. Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
7. For an account of the recent Sikh agitation for a separate Punjabi province, see Paul Grimes, "Embattled Sikhs," *The New York Times Magazine* (New York: Nov. 6, 1960), pp. 37-38. Paul Grimes contends that "in the opinion of many non-Sikhs, however, the movement really represents resurgent Sikh nationalism. It is seen as an attempt to regain within India some of the power and prestige that a Sikh kingdom held from about 1800 until it was broken up by the British in 1846."
8. Renan, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
9. Fazal Karim Durrani, *The Future of Islam in India* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1929), p. 2.
10. Fazl Karim Durrani, *The Meaning of Pakistan* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1946).
11. Emerson, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

12. H. G. Rawlinson, *India: A Short Cultural History* (London: Crescent Press, 1954), p. 234.

13. R. C. Majumdar, *et. al. The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960), pp. xxix, 616-617; see also the jacket of the volume, which describes the nature of Hindu-Moslem relations.

Appendix A

THE DOCTRINE OF GHAYBA

The underlying difference between the Shi'a and Sunni theory concerning the headship of the Moslem State is the doctrine of the *imamate* (Shi'a term for the Caliphate) which narrows the qualification of the candidate for this position not merely to the tribe of Quraysh but still further to *ahl al-bayt*, the descendants of Ali (the fourth Caliph, and the son-in-law of the Prophet), and Fatima. The Shi'a accepts the legitimist right of Ali to the *imamate* as an article of faith for it is held that Ali was designated by the Prophet Muhammad as his successor and after him his descendants in direct line. This designation made on a special occasion, entrusted Ali with divine knowledge and authority to interpret the Qur'an and the laws of Islam. This esoteric knowledge, it is believed by the Shi'a, Ali passed on to his male descendants from generation to generation. To the majority of Shi'a Ali and his descendants formed, in contrast to the Sunni caliphs, a caste of infallible imams.

Differences of opinions on the nature of the *immate*, itself the cause of division in Islam, gave rise to subdivision within the Shi'a sect. Apart from the Zaydis, who permit the election of the *imam* from among Ali's descendants, the principal subdivisions are the so-called "Twelvers" and "Seveners". This division took place after the death of the Sixth *Imam*, Jafer Al-Sadiq (died 765); the Twelvers acknowledged his younger son Musa Al-Kazim, and the Seveners supported the claim of the elder brother Isma'il. The minority, followed Isma'il, whose descendants established the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt (969-1171 A.D.), and who are now to be found in India, Pakistan, Central Asia, Syria, the Persian Gulf, and East Africa. They are called the Ismailis.[1]

The majority of the Shi'as were, and still are, supporters of the *imamate* of Musa Al-Kazim, and his descendants until it came to Imam Hasan al-Askari, eleventh in descent from Ali, who died in 874 in the reign of the 'Abbaside Caliph Mutamid. Upon his death the *imamate* devolved upon his son Muhammad Hudjdjat Allah, surnamed al-Mahdi (the Guide), the last Imam.[2]

The story of these Imams of the House of the Prophet is intensely pathetic. The father of Imam Hasan Al-Askari was deported from Madina to Samarra by Caliph Mutawakkil, and detained there until his death. Similarly Imam Al-Askari was kept a prisoner by the

jealousy of Mutawakkil's successors. His infant son, barely five years old, pining for his father, went in search of him into a cavern not far from their house. From that cavern the child never returned. The pathos of this calamity culminated in the hope and expectation which fills the hearts of all Shi'as, that al-Mahdi may return to relieve a sorrowing and sinful world of its burden of sin and oppression.[3]

No other *imam* had been selected since the disappearance of al-Mahdi, because his *ghayba* (absence) did not mean that he had perished. His spirit, it is held, is still with his fold. The doctrine of the *ghayba,* and his final return as the Mahdi (Messiah), to dispense justice and righteousness in a world now full of sins, forms the basis of the Twelver's creed.[4] During the *Imam's* absence, the creed and the law have been interpreted by the *mujtahids* (scholars), who have acted as the agents of the *Imam.*

1. CF. Benard Lewis, *The Origins of Ismailism* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1940), p. 23 ff.

2. H. A. R. Gibb; J. H. Kramers, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), p. 536.

2. Cf. Khadduri, *op. cit.* pp. 40-1; Khadduri wrongly describes Iman Hasan Al-Askari as the twelfth Imam.

4. M. Th. Houtsma, *et. al., The Encyclopedia of Islam* (London: Luzac & Co., 1934), Vol. IV, p. 350 off; Dwight M. Donoldson, *The Shiite Religion* (London: Luzac & Co., 1933), p. 326 ff.

Appendix B

DECREE OF MIGRATION FROM INDIA

By Abdul Kalam Azad

After examining all the reasons contained in the *Shari'a*, as well as contemporary events, interests of the Moslems, and pros and cons [of political issues], I feel definitely satisfied that from the viewpoint of the *Shari'a*, the Moslems of India have no choice but to migrate from India. All Moslems who would like to fulfill Islamic obligations must quit India. Those who cannot migrate immediately should help the migrants as if they were themselves migrating from the country. The *Shari'a* gives us no alternative course, except migration.

Migration from India before World War I was desirable; now it is mandatory. Only those Moslems can remain in India who are needed to carry on the struggle [for the Caliphate] or have acceptable reasons against migration. Large-scale population transfer, however, causes understandable delay. Those who under such circumstances fail to migrate should devote their energy and resources to follow the *Shari'a*. They should organize themselves according to the *Shari'a*, and should never give up their determination and enthusiasm for migration. Under the present circumstances, the creation of [such a Moslem] party will be a sterling achievement.

It should be understood that the *Shari'a* does not allow individual and spasmodic migration. Migration should be undertaken collectively and requisite arrangements should be made by the party [organized for migration]. The party chief should decide the following questions: a) who should migrate immediately; b) who should remain behind to render useful services to the cause; c) and the time and place for migration. An individual is not authorized to determine these questions for himself.

When the order for migration is given, migration becomes mandatory. The Prophet Muhammad has left us an examplary procedure. Before the preparation for migration is made an oath of *bai'a* must be taken. Due to several reasons (their explanation can be found in *Risalah-i-Hijrat*) not everyone can migrate from India, nor is that required by the *Shari'a*. It is, therefore, obvious that while migration continues, India will not be denuded of its Moslem population. Those who remain in India will be bound by the *Shari'a* to sever all ties of good will and mutual collaboration with the invaders of Islam [the

Turkish Caliphate]. Those who disregard this Qur'anic injunction, will be considered enemies of Islam.

"Good will and mutual collaboration" is my [Azad's] translation of "*mawalat*", which occurs in the Qur'an. "*Mawalat*" connotes all acts of cooperation, which the caliphate committee rejects according to the "non-cooperation" plan. Cooperation of Moslems with the British Government was prohibited by the *Shari'a* on the day Turkey declared herself at war with Allied Powers. That is why I endeavored at the Delhi meetings in February and later on April 11, 1920, at the Bombay Caliphate Conference to have the non-cooperation plan passed by the [delegates]. Non-cooperation was not decided upon as a defensive measure in case our demands were rejected [by the British Government]; it had become mandatory for Moslems since the advent of hostilities. For this reason alone, I endeavored again at the Meerut Caliphate Conference to explain the "why's" of the Moslem obligation relative to non-cooperation with the Government.

This is not just political expediency; I believe in it with all my heart. Although Islam [the Turkish Caliphate] lost all its European areas as well as Baghdad and Damascus, our faith was not endangered. Now the situation has changed. It is not just a question of the defense of Constantinople. Our very "faith" is in the balance. We not only want to defend the land [Caliphate], but also seek the survival of our "faith". If we failed to defend Constantinople and Baghdad, we must not fail to protect our *iman* (religion).

I have decided the course of action [non-cooperation] for myself, and will follow it steadfastly. All those who seek righteousness (*Talib-i-Haq*) and trust me should follow me or obtain further instruction from the following persons:

> Mawlavi 'Abdūl Qādir, Vakil, of Qasur, district Lahore.
> Mawlavi Mhyad-ud-Din Ahmad of Qasur, district Lahore.
> Mawlana Muhammad Daud Ghazanvi, Amritsar.
> Mawlavi 'Abdūr Razaq (Mlyh Abadi), Editor *al-Byan*, Lucknow.

Risalah-i-Hijrat is being composed, and will be published in the near future. Those who still have further questions regarding the import of the *Shari'a* [about non-cooperation and migration] should wait for its publication.[1]

1. Abul Kalam Azad, "Hijrat Ka Fatwa," *Daily Ahl-i Hadith* (Amritsar: July 30, 1920), as reproduced in Ghulam Rasul Mahr, *Tabarkat-i-Azad*, (Lahore: Kitab Manzil, 1959), pp. 203-206. Mahr says the *Risalah-i-Hijrat* was never published.

Appendix C

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MOSLEM KINGS OF INDIA

	Dates of Accession	
Ghaznavi Kings of the Indus Valley	*Hijri Era*	*Christian Era*
Yamīn-ud-Daulah Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi	405	1014
Jalāl-ud-Daulah Muhammad	421	1030
Nasīr-ud-din Mas'ud	421	1030
Shihāb-ud-Daulah Maudūd	433	1042
Abu Ja'ffar Mas'ud	441	1049
Abul Hasan Ali	441	1049
'Izz-ud-Daulah 'Abdūl Rashīd	443	1051
Jamāl-ud-Daulah Farrūkhzād	444	1053
Zahīr-ud-Daulah Ibrahīm	451	1059
'Alā-ud-Daulah Mas'ud	492	1099
Kamāl-ud-Daulah Shirzād	508	1114
Sultan-ud-Daulah Arsalān	509	1115
Yamīn-ud-Daulah Bahram Shah	512	1118
Zahīr-ud-Daulah Khusraū Shah	547	1152
Tāj-ud-Daulah Khusraū Malik	552	1160
DELHI SULTANATE		
"Slave" Dynasty		
Qutb-ud-din Aiybek	602	1206
Arām Shah	607	1210
Shams-ud-din Altmash	607	1210
Rukn-ud-din-Firuz	633	1235
Jalālat-ud-din Radiyah	634	1236
Mu'izz-ud-din Bahrām	637	1240
'Alā-ud-din Mas'ud	639	1242
Nasīr-ud-din Mahmud	644	1246
Ghiyāth-ud-din Balban	664	1266
Mu'izz-ud-din Kaiqubād	686	1287
Shams-ud-din Kaiyumarth	689	1290
Khiljis		
Jalāl-ud-din Firuz	689	1290
Rukn-ud-din Ibrahīm	695	1296
'Ala-ud-din Muhammad	695	1296
Shihāb-ud-din 'Umar	715	1316
Qutb-ud-din Mubārak Shah	716	1316
Shams-ud-din Mahmud [Pretender]	718	1318
Nasīr-ud-din Khusraū	720	1320
House of Tughlaq		
Ghiyāth-ud-din Tughlaq I	720	1320
Muhammad bin Tughlaq	725	1325
Firuz Shah Tughlaq	752	1351
Ghiyath-ud-din Tughlaq II	790	1388

	Hijri Era	Christian Era
Firuz Shah Zafar	791	1389
Abū Bakr	791	1389
Muhammad bin Firuz	792	1390
Sikandar Shah	795	1393
Mahmud bin Muhammad	795	1393
Nusrat [Interregnum]	797–802?	1395
Daulat Khan Lodi	815	1413
Saiyads		
Khidr Khan	817	1414
Mubarak Shah	824	1421
Muhammad bin Farīd	837	1343
'Alam Shah	849	1445
Lodis		
Buhlūl Lodi	855	1451
Sikardar Lodi	894	1489
Ibrahīm Lodi	923	1517
* Zahīr-ud-din Muhammad Babur (founded the Mughul Empire)	932	1526
Nasīr-ud-din Humayun defeated by Sher Shah Sūrī in 1538; sought political asylum for 14 years in Persia)	937	1530
Sūrs		
Sher Shah	945	1538
Islam Shah	952	1545
Muhammad 'Adil Shah	960	1552
Ibrahīm Shah	962	1554
Sikandar Shah	962	1554
Moghul Empire		
Nasīr-ud-din Humayun [restored]	962	1555
Jalāl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar	963	1556
Nūr-ud-din Jahangīr	1014	1605
Shihāb-ud-din Shahjahān	1037	1628
Muhy-ud-din Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr	1068	1658
Muhammad Mu'azam Bahadar Shah (or Shah 'Alam I)	1119	1708
Jahāndar Shah	1124	1712
Farrukhsiyār	1125	1713
Rafī'-ud-Darajāt (or Shah Jahān II)	1131	1719
Rafī'-ud-Daulah	1131	1719
Muhammad Shah	1131	1719
[Muhammad Ibrahīm 1720, for a month]		
Ahmad Shah	1161	1748
Alamgīr II	1167	1754
Shah 'Alam II	1173	1759
Akbar Shah II	1221	1806
Bahadur Shah Zafar (deposed by the British Government in 1857)	1253	1837

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